H 516
v.1

THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY LIBRARY
CHELSEA SQUARE, NEW YORK II, N. Y.

The Gift of
The Very Rev.
Eugene A. Hoffman

Ecclesiastical History Society.

Established for the publication and republication of Church Histories, &c., 1847.

999

ECCLESIA RESTAURATA;

OR, THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

Church of England.

BY

PETER HEYLYN, D.D.

WITH THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, BY JOHN BARNARD, D.D.

EDITED BY

JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A.,
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
VICAR OF BEKESBOURNE, IN THE DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR
The Ecclesiastical History Society.
M.DCCC.XLIX.

283.04E
H516
34985

PREFACE.

THE Ecclesia Restaurata of Heylyn was, notwithstanding the previous labours of Fox and Fuller, the earliest attempt at a regular History of our Reformation; and, although it has been followed by many works on the same subject, and has unquestionably been excelled by some of them in one respect or other, it still retains a value, and continues to be read and quoted. It is hoped, therefore, that a republication may not be unacceptable to the members of the Ecclesiastical History Society.

The first edition was published in 1661—the year before the author's death. A second followed in 1670—improved by the addition of an Index, but in other respects a mere reprint of the former, with a somewhat increased number of errors. The third edition, however, which appeared in 1674, differs considerably from those which had preceded it. Some concluding sentences and a note are added at the end of the History,—the whole addition bearing tokens of the author's hand, and the note evidently written while the first edition was in the press, or immediately after the completion of the printing. The third edition, too, while it has many errors of its own, frequently corrects those of the first and second; and in some places, where words had been before misprinted, it has new readings, which are themselves also erroneous[1]. This

[1] Thus in Eliz. ii. 3—4, the name *Yale* is printed *Dale* in Edd. 1, 2, and *Vale* in 3; and *Neale* is in 1, 2, printed *Keale*, and in 3, *Weale*.

last class of variations must be accounted for by supposing, either that the third edition, as well as the first, was printed from manuscript, or that the third was printed from a copy of the first, in which the concluding sentences and note had been added, and corrections, sometimes indistinctly written, had been inserted. If the third edition was taken from a manuscript, an earlier printed copy must have been used as a guide for the arrangement of the pages, which is alike in all the impressions.

The book used in preparing the present reprint is of the second edition; and the others have been collated with it wherever there appeared to be any doubt as to the reading. The corrections derived from the third edition are mentioned in the notes; but it has not in general been thought necessary to record the errors which are peculiar to the second or the third.

A prominent defect of the Work has hitherto been the almost entire want of references to authorities; and the chief part of my task has consisted in supplying these. By following the hints which are occasionally given, I have for the most part succeeded in discovering the sources from which it is evident that Heylyn must have drawn his information: and it may be here observed, that a reference in this book very commonly implies an amount of obligation far exceeding that which is usual in modern literature; for it is our author's practice to appropriate whole sentences, and even paragraphs, with very little, if any, alteration. Among the works from which he has borrowed in this way, may be particularly mentioned, Hayward's Life of Edward the Sixth, Stow's Annals

and Survey, Brent's Translation of Fra Paolo, Spottiswoode's History of the Church in Scotland, Fuller's Church History, and the Translation of Godwin's Annals[2]. He is also largely indebted to the last-named writer's work, "De Præsulibus Angliæ," which has, since Heylyn's day, been greatly increased in value by the labours of the Cambridge editor, Dr Richardson, formerly Master of Emmanuel College.

Many passages of the "History" recur in others of the author's numerous works; and by comparing the parallel places, I have been assisted in discovering the authorities for his statements.

Where there was no such marked coincidence as to satisfy me that I had found the same authority on which Heylyn relied, I have endeavoured to give references to books of a date earlier than the "History," —books from which he *might* have drawn; and where the reference is to later writers, I have studied to cite such as are independent of our author, and therefore may with propriety be used as vouchers for his correctness.

A considerable number of documents is introduced in the course of the "History;" but these had, with few exceptions, been already printed by Fox, Fuller, and others, and of those few some have since been printed more accurately, from the originals. I have not thought it necessary to refer to the Cottonian MSS. except for the very few pieces which do not come under either of these classes. The rest have been carefully collated with other printed copies—

[2] This is said to be the most valuable form of the Annals—the translation, by the author's son, having been superintended and improved by Bishop Godwin himself. Biogr. Britann. iv. 2237.

whether earlier or later; and all variations of any importance have been noticed. But it is right to state explicitly, that the reader is not to expect minute verbal accuracy: the character of the book is not documentary, and a punctilious noting of insignificant differences would be out of place in it.

I have wished to reform the punctuation, which in the old editions is perplexing from the profusion with which stops are scattered—almost at random. Perhaps, however, it may be thought that too many traces of this still remain—especially in the earlier sheets.

The principle which I have intended to observe as to orthography, was—to modernize where the difference from our present usage was *merely* one of spelling, but to preserve all such variations as affected the *form* of words. In proper names, I have endeavoured to reduce the very uncertain spelling of the former editions to something more like consistency, but in no case to write any name in a way of which the old copies did not furnish some example.

A marginal summary of the contents has been supplied; and the paragraphs have been numbered, chiefly for the sake of facilitating the references from earlier to more advanced parts of the Work which are rendered necessary by the author's manner of conducting his story[3].

The old paging is marked in the inner margin. In the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, it will be found that two sets of numbers are thus given: the lower being

[3] An example will explain the form of these references. Thus Eliz. iv. 5, means the fifth paragraph of the fourth year (or chapter) of the History of Queen Elizabeth.

that of the first and second editions, in which there are two series of pages; the higher, that of the third, which is paged continuously throughout.

The notes of the old editions are so few, that it has seemed better to mark them as the author's, than to follow the usual practice of editors by enclosing my own in brackets. The reader is, therefore, requested to consider me answerable for such notes as have no distinctive mark, as well as for the bracketed additions to those which are referred to the author.

It is hoped that the Life of Heylyn, by his son-in-law, will be considered a valuable addition. Some particulars respecting that work will be found in the special notice which is prefixed to it.

In the preparation of this edition, the library of Canterbury Cathedral, and the valuable germ of a collection which is already formed in St Augustine's College, have afforded me facilities such as country clergymen cannot ordinarily obtain; and these have been increased from public sources, and by the kindness of friends. I have also benefited by some visits to the British Museum. Although, therefore, I have throughout felt the want of constant and ready access to a library of the largest kind, I trust that the deficiencies arising from this cause will not be found of any great importance, and venture to hope that I shall not be accused of having entered on my task without such a command of literary means as might reasonably warrant the undertaking.

J. C. R.

Bekesbourne, near Canterbury.
Dec. 30, 1848.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

LIST OF EDITIONS REFERRED TO xv

THE LIFE OF HEYLYN, BY JOHN BARNARD, D.D. . . . xix

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

Dedication to Charles II. iii

To the Reader v

THE HISTORY OF EDWARD THE SIXTH.

Introduction.

Birth of Edward 1

Descent of Queen Jane Seimour 2

Account of Sir Edward Seimour 3

His descendants 4

Sir Thomas Seimour 6

Sir Henry Seimour 7

Description of Queen Jane 8

Her Marriage 9

Death of Henry's natural son 11

Prince Edward born 12

Death of the Queen 14

Edward never Prince of Wales 16

Movements towards a Reformation 17

Suppression of Monasteries 18

Shrines destroyed 19

The Pope's Bull of Deprivation 20

Act of Six Articles 21

Transactions with Scotland 22

Project of Marriage between Prince Edward and Queen Mary 23

Wars with Scotland and France 24

Education of Prince Edward 25

PAGE

Preparations for his investiture as Prince of Wales . . 28
The succession to the Crown settled 29
Proceedings against the Duke of Norfolk and his son . 30
Death of King Henry 31
Henry's relations with foreign Princes 32
State of affairs at home 33
Spoliation of Bishopricks by exchange of lands . . 36
Bishopricks and Colleges founded by Henry . . . *ib.*
Statutes for the independence of the National Church . 38
Reformations in doctrine 39
New titles added to the royal style 43
Will of King Henry 46
Funeral of the King 59

EDWARD THE SIXTH. ANNO REG. I.

Accession of Edward 60
The Earl of Hertford appointed Protector . . . 61
New Peerages and appointments . . . . . *ib.*
The Coronation 64
A General Pardon, with six exceptions 65
Movements towards a Reformation 66
A Visitation by royal authority 68
The Injunctions 69
Injunctions for the Bishops 74
Form of Bidding Prayer 75
Working on the Lord's Day allowed in certain cases . . 77
Progress of the Reformation 78
Preparations for War with Scotland 80
Death of Francis I. 81
The Visitation executed 82
Behaviour of Gardiner and Bonner . . . . *ib.*
The War with Scotland 85
Battle of Musselburgh or Pinkie 92
Defeat of the Scots 93
The victory is not followed up 94
The Protector returns to England 96
Proceedings in Parliament . . . . . *ib.*
Act for liberty in Religion 97
Act against such as speak against the Sacrament . . 98

*

PAGE

The Eucharist to be given in both kinds 99
Chantries, &c. given by Parliament to the King . . . 102
Act for the appointment of Bishops 104
Ridley appointed Bishop of Rochester 109
Barlow translated to Bath and Wells 110

EDWARD THE SIXTH. ANNO II.

Orders against certain Ceremonies 113
Order against Images 114
Latimer preaches at Court 117
The Order of the Communion set forth in English . . . 118
Opposition to it 122
Execution of the Act for seizing chantries 123
Spoliation of the Church of Westminster 124
Impoverished state of the Clergy 126
Affairs of Scotland 127
Bishop Gardiner opposes the Reformation 130
Divisions on Religion 131
An English Liturgy projected 132
The first Book of Common Prayer completed 135
Public Service ought to be in the vulgar tongue . . . 136
Act permitting the marriage of the Clergy 139
Act for payment of Tithes 143
Act for abstinence from flesh 144
Farrar consecrated Bishop of St David's . . . . *ib.*

EDWARD THE SIXTH. ANNO III.

Account of Lord Seimour 146
He is attainted and executed 149
Building of Somerset House 151
Troubles caused by Gospellers and Anabaptists . . . 152
The new Liturgy comes into use 153
Order against masses at St Paul's 154
Disturbances about enclosures 155
Rebellion in Devonshire 156
Rebellion in Norfolk 159
Deprivation of Bonner 162
Act for bringing in popish books, and for removing Images . 163
Peter Martyr comes to England . . . . . *ib.*

PAGE

Arrival of Bucer 165
Interference of Calvin 166
Wars with France and Scotland 168
Intrigues of Warwick against the Protector . . . 169
Charges against Somerset 171
He is committed to the Tower 172
Act for a new Ordinal . . . . . *ib.*
Act for revision of Ecclesiastical Laws 174
Act for protection of the King's Counsellors . . . 175
Further proceedings against Somerset . . . . *ib.*

EDWARD THE SIXTH. ANNO IV

Somerset is condemned to loss of Offices, &c. . . . 177
New Appointments 178
Church-lands bestowed on Lords Wentworth and Paget . *ib.*
Somerset again received by the King 180
Affairs of France 181
A Peace concluded with France and Scotland . . . 183
Condemnation of Joan of Kent for heresy 185
She is burnt in Smithfield 187
John à Lasco settles in England 188
Difficulties about the consecration of Hooper as Bishop . 189
Disputes about ceremonies and vestments . . . 193
Irregularities in the Church 197
Disuse of Excommunication 198
Orders for Preaching 199
Altars taken down 201
Letter of the Council to Bishop Ridley 202
Reasons for the change from altars to tables . . . 203
Proceedings of Ridley 204
Changes during the year 207

EDWARD THE SIXTH. ANNO V.

Deprivation of Gardiner 209
Some Bishops alienate Church-lands 211
Deprivations and appointments of Bishops . . . 212
The Princess Mary adheres to the Romish religion . . 216
The Emperor interferes in her behalf 218

PAGE
Embassy to France 221
A marriage between Edward and a French Princess agreed on . 223
Progress of the Reformation 224
Revision of the Liturgy 226
Articles of Religion 228
The Merchants of the Steelyard deprived of their privileges . 230
Treaty with the King of Sweden 231
The Coinage reformed 232
Omens of coming evil 233
The Sweating Sickness . . . . . *ib.*
Fresh plots of Warwick 235
A creation of Peers, &c. 238
Somerset and others imprisoned 240
Visit of the Queen Regent of Scotland 241
Trial and condemnation of Somerset 243
The King's diversions 247
Execution of Somerset 248
Disgrace of his adherents 250
Troubles of Bishop Farrar 253

EDWARD THE SIXTH. ANNO VI.

Meeting of Parliament and Convocation 256
Articles of Religion 257
Second Liturgy of King Edward 259
Affairs of Ireland 260
Reformation may be without a general Council . . . 262
Act for observance of Holy days and Fasts 265
Other acts relating to the Church 268
The new Liturgy comes into use 269
The Psalms put into metre 270
Founding of St Bartholomew's and St Thomas' Hospitals . . 272
Taylor appointed to the See of Lincoln 275
Death of Leland the antiquary 276
Cardan's visit to England 277

EDWARD THE SIXTH. ANNO VII.

State of the King's finances 279
A Commission for inquiry as to Church-plate, &c. . . . 281
Consequent spoliations 284

PAGE

The Bishoprick of Durham in danger 287
The King's sickness 291
Expeditions of Cabot and others . . . . . *ib.*
Marriages of the Lady Jane Grey and her sisters . . . 293
The King settles the crown 294
Progress of his sickness 296
Death of Edward 298
Foundation of Christ's Hospital, Abingdon 301

Additions and Corrections 303

EDITIONS OF SOME WORKS TO WHICH REFERENCE IS MADE.

THIS list is intended to contain such works only as the editor knows or believes to exist in more than one edition; and of these only such as are often cited—the edition of others being mentioned in the reference. Where other editions than those in the list have been used—as, for reasons of temporary convenience, has sometimes been the case—notice is given in the proper place.

Bellarmini Opera, Colon. Agripp. 1620, fol.

Bramhall, Anglo-cath. Library edition, Oxf. 1842-5, 8vo.

Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Oxf. 1829, 8vo.

Calvini Opera, Amstelod. 1667, fol. (The *Epistles* are in the 9th volume.)

Camden's Britannia, English translation, Lond. 1610, fol.

..... Annales, Lond. 1615, fol.

..... English, in Kennett's Complete Hist., vol. ii.

Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, 1st ed. Lond. 1845, 8vo.

Clarendon's Hist. of the Great Rebellion, with his Life, Oxf. 1843, 1 vol. large 8vo.

Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, ed. Barham, Lond. 1840-1, 8vo.

Collins' Peerage, ed. Brydges, Lond. 1812, 8vo.

Cranmer, ed. Jenkyns, Oxf. 1833, 8vo.

..... ed. Cox (Parker Society), Camb. 1844-6, large 8vo.

Davila's Hist. of the Civil Wars of France, English transl. 2nd ed. Lond. 1678.

Dod's [i.e. Tootle's] Church Hist. of England, ed. Tierney, Lond. 1839, 8vo.

Fox's Acts and Monuments, ed. Cattley, Lond. 1840, 8vo.

Fuller's Church History of Britain, ed. Brewer, Oxf. 1845, 8vo.

..... Hist. of Cambridge, and Appeal of Injured Innocence, ed. Nichols, Lond. 1840, 8vo.

Gibson's Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani, Lond. 1713, fol.

Godwin, De Præsulibus Angliæ, ed. Richardson, Cantab. 1743, fol.[1]

..... Annals of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, transl. by Morgan Godwin, Lond. 1676. fol.

Hackett's Life of Archbp. Williams, Lond. 1693, fol.

Hall's Chronicle, Lond. 1809, 4to.

Hallam's Constitutional Hist. of England, ed. 4, Lond. 1842, 8vo.

Hayward's Life of Edward VI., in Kennett, vol. ii.

Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. .....

Heylyn's Cyprianus Anglicus, (Life of Laud,) Lond. 1668; ib. 1671. (The former edition has been used for the *Life;* the latter for the *History.*)

..... Cosmography, Lond. 1652.

Holinshed's Chronicle, Lond. 1808, 4to.

Hume's Hist. of England, Oxf. 1826, 8vo.

Jewel, Lond. 1609, fol.

..... ed. Jelf, Oxf. 1847, 8vo.

..... ed. Ayre, (Parker Soc.) 1845- , large 8vo. (The Apology, Defence, and Letters are not yet published in this edition.)

Kennett's Complete Hist. of England, ed. 2, Lond. 1719, fol.[2]

Latimer, ed. Corrie, (Parker Soc.) Camb. 1844-5, 8vo.

Laurence's Bampton Lectures, ed. 3, Oxf. 1838, 8vo.

Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglicanæ, Lond. 1726, fol.

Leslæus de Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Rom. 1675, 12mo.

Lingard's Hist. of England, Lond. 1838, 12mo.

Martyris (P.) Epistolæ, printed with his Loci Communes, Lond. 1583, fol.

Mason de Ministerio Anglicano, Lond. 1638, fol.

Monasticon Anglicanum, Lond. 1845, fol.

Nicolas' Chronology, Lond. 1838, 12mo.

Onuphrius, *see* Platinæ.

Phillips' Life of Pole, Lond. 1767, 8vo.

Platinæ et Onuphrii Vitæ Pontificum, Col. Agripp. 1668, fol.

Robertson, J. C., How shall we Conform to the Liturgy? ed. 2, Lond. 1844, 8vo.

[1] Where the name of Godwin is given, without the title of the work, it is believed that the subject will sufficiently shew whether the reference is to the Catalogue of Bishops or to the Annals.

[2] The collection is usually referred to as Kennett's, although his share in it consisted in writing the third volume, and he had no hand in the republication of the works contained in vols. i—ii. Biogr. Britann. iv. 2825.

Sanderi Hist. Schismatis Anglicani, Ingolst. 1587, 12mo.

Sandford's Genealogical History, Lond. 1707, fol.

Sarpi's Hist. of the Council of Trent, transl. by Brent, Lond. 1629, fol.

Sleidanus De Statu Religionis et Reipublicæ, Argent. 1566, 8vo.

..... translated by Bohun, Lond. 1689, fol.

Speed's Chronicle, Lond. 1627.

Spottiswoode's Hist. of the Church in Scotland, Lond. 1655, fol.

Stow's Annals, Lond. 1631, fol.[1]

..... Survey of London, Lond. 1633, fol.

Strype's Lives of Cranmer[2], Parker, and Grindal, folio; Eccl. Memorials, folio; Annals, vol. i., ed. 2, folio.

Thuani Hist. Sui Temporis, Lond. 1733, fol.

Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, Edinb. 1841-3, small 8vo.

Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, Lond. 1813-20, 4to.

..... Hist. and Antiquities of Oxford, ed. Gutch, Oxf. 1796, 4to.

Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, ed. 3, Lond. 1839, 8vo.

Zurich Letters, ed. Robinson, (Parker Soc.) 1842-7, 8vo.[3]

[1] Where the name of Stow is given without the title of the work, the *Annals* are meant, except in cases where a preceding reference makes it unnecessary to mention the *Survey*.

[2] When the Life of Cranmer is referred to as a work of more than one volume, the Eccl. Hist. Society's edition, (not yet complete), is intended.

[3] *Zur. Lett.* means the second edition of the translated Letters, 1558-1602, 1 vol.; *Zur. Lett.* i.—ii., the *first* edition of the same, Latin and English; *Epp. Tigur.* the Latin, and *Orig. Lett.* the English, of the Letters 1537-1558.

THEOLOGO-HISTORICVS,

Or the True

L I F E

OF THE

Most Reverend DIVINE,

and Excellent HISTORIAN

PETER HEYLYN D.D.

Sub-Dean of *Westminster.*

Written by his Son in Law *JOHN BARNARD* D. D. Rec. of *Waddington* near *Lincoln.*

To correct the Errors, supply the Defects, and confute the Calumnies of a late Writer.

Also an Answer to Mr. *BAXTERS* false Accusations of Dr. *HEYLYN.*

Quisquis patitur peccare peccantem is vires subministrat Audaciæ. Arnob. *L.* 4.[1]

LONDON,

Printed for *J. S.* and are to be sold by *Ed. Eckelston,* at the Sign of the *Peacock* in *Little-Britain.* 1683.

[1] Bibl. Max. Patrum, Lugd. 1677, t. iii. p. 479, e.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

TWO writers were engaged at the same time on the life of Heylyn[1],—his son-in-law, Dr Barnard[2], and Mr

[1] The "Rival Biographers of Heylyn" are the subject of an amusing, though not altogether correct, article in D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Literature."

[2] "John Barnard or Bernard, the son of a father of both his names, gent., was born in a market town in Lincolnshire called Castor, educated in the grammar-school there, whence going to Cambridge, he became a pensioner of Queens' College, and thence journeying to Oxon to obtain preferment from the visitors there appointed by parliament, in the end of 1647, was actually created B.A. in the Pembrokian creation, [i. e. a creation "made by the command of Philip Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University, while he continued in Oxon, to break open lodgings, and give possession to the new heads of the Presbyterian gang."—Fasti Oxon. ii. 110] 15th April, 1648; and on the 29th of Sept. following he was, by order of the said visitors, then bearing date, made fellow of Lincoln College. In 1651 he proceeded in Arts, and about that time became a preacher in and near Oxon. At length, wedding the daughter of Dr Peter Heylyn, then living at Abingdon, became rector of a rich church in his own country, called Waddington, near Lincoln, the perpetual advowson of which he purchased, and held for some time with it the sinecure of Gedney in the same county. After his majesty's restoration, he conformed, and not only kept his rectory, but was made prebendary of Asgarby in the church of Lincoln. In 1669 he took his degrees in Divinity, being then in some repute for his learning and orthodox principles. He died at Newark, in his journey to the Spaw, on the 17th of August, 1683."—Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 96-7. Among his works Wood names one entitled *Censura Cleri*, "published in the latter end of 1659 or beginning of 1660, to prevent such from being restored to their livings that had been ejected by the godly party. His name is not set to this pamphlet, and he did not care afterwards, when he saw how the event proved, to be known as the author." In the same volume (p. 610) is a notice of a younger John Barnard, son of the biographer, who was a fellow of Brasennose College, became a Romanist in the reign of James II., and afterwards returned to the Church of England, and "was maintained with dole for some time by the Bishop of Chester, Stratford."

Vernon[1], rector of Bourton-on-the-water, in Gloucestershire. The latter was patronized by the Heylyn family, who wished to procure a memoir which might be prefixed to a re-publication of the *Ecclesia Vindicata* and other Tracts. Dr Barnard had offered his services as biographer; but "by reason of some unhappy differences, as usually fall out in families[2]," they had been declined.

While the folio volume of Tracts was in the press, Dr Barnard received a letter written in behalf of Mr Harper, the bookseller who had undertaken the publication. Harper had supposed that the Life would be furnished by Barnard, and was disappointed at finding that another person had been employed by the representatives of Heylyn; it was therefore requested that Dr Barnard would revise the MS. supplied by Vernon,—the author having "desired Mr Harper to communicate the papers to whom he pleases, and cross out or add what is thought convenient[3]." He complied, although unwillingly: "I dealt most ingenuously with the Life," he tells us[4], "made several additions to it, corrected many mistakes, abated only the harangue of transcriptions, [unnecessarily made from Dr Heylyn's published works[5]], and such passages as I thought were disgraceful reflections on my reverend father; I put it into a method, which was before very confused; ..... I also disposed both his and my own discourses into distinct paragraphs,

[1] "George Vernon, a Cheshire-man born, was admitted a servitor of Brasennose College, 1653, aged 16 years, took the degrees in Arts, holy orders, was made chaplain of All Souls' College, afterwards rector of Sarsden, near Churchill in Oxfordshire, of Bourton-on-the-water, in Gloucestershire, of St John and St Michael, in the city of Gloucester."— Wood, Athen. Oxon. iv. 606; where several works by Vernon are enumerated.

[2] Barn. p. 67.

[3] Ibid. p. 4.

[4] Ibid. pp. 6-7.

[5] Ibid. p. 5.

that the one might be known from the other; and finally, I writ a civil letter of thanks to him."

Another passage, however, shews that the alterations introduced by Barnard were far greater than this statement might lead us to suppose. "I sent up [Mr Vernon's MS.] whole and entire, *took the pains to transcribe out of it what I thought fit to be inserted into the Life*, and set his name thereto[1]." In short, he substituted his own composition, using that of Vernon only as supplementary.

The Life thus produced underwent a treatment of which Dr Barnard vehemently complains. "My papers," he says, "came home miserably clawed, blotted and blurred, — whole sentences dismembered and pages scratched out, several leaves omitted which ought to have been printed; especially"—(and the reader of the following biography may form some idea how deeply this must have been felt)—"if [the editor] met with any passages in the Life that seemed an ornament to it, he would give no fair quarter to them..... Before my copy was carried to the press, he swooped away the second part of the Life wholly from it; in the room of which, he shuffled in a preposterous conclusion at the last page, which he caused to be printed in a different character from the other[2]."

But who was the party guilty of these outrages? Barnard assumed that it could be no other than Vernon; but the truth seems to be that the rector of Bourton had nothing whatever to do with the matter. The publisher had called in a more important adviser—Dr Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln[3]; the mutilations of Barnard's MS. were really the work, not of the obscure

[1] Barn. p. 9. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ath. Oxon. iii. 567; iv. 606. Mr D'Israeli was not aware of this circumstance, on which much of the story depends.

Gloucestershire clergyman, but of the indignant author's own diocesan; and we need not hesitate to ascribe the abruptness of the conclusion, and the smallness of the type in which it is printed, to Mr Harper's economical desire to save the expense of an additional sheet.

Such is the history of the Life prefixed to the folio of Tracts, 1681. The authors who had shared in producing it were both dissatisfied with the treatment which they had received. Vernon, in conjunction with Heylyn's son, drew up a protest on the subject, and from this it is that we learn Bishop Barlow's share in the affair. But Barnard appears never to have seen this paper, (which is described as existing only in MS.[1]), and, supposing Vernon to be the mutilator of his composition, he directed the whole of his resentment against *him*.

In the following year, 1682, appeared an independent biography by Vernon[2]. He tells us in his preface that "had it not been for the indiscretion of some persons, and the forwardness and ostentation of others, none had been put to the trouble of reading, or expense of buying, a second impression of Dr Heylyn's Life; this very account of it having been written on purpose to be printed with that learned volume of his Tracts that has been lately collected." He declares[3] that he has borrowed nothing from the folio, except the account of Heylyn's exertions in preserving the church of St Nicolas at Abingdon[4], and that of the dream which he had before his last illness[5]; and he expresses an opinion that this might be fairly done, inasmuch as the author

[1] Ath. Oxon. iv. 606.

[2] "The Life of the learned and reverend Dr Peter Heylyn, Chaplain to Charles I. and Charles II., monarchs of Great Britain. Written by George Vernon, &c. London, Printed for C. H., and sold by Edward Vize, next door but one to Pope's-Head-Alley, over against the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill."

[3] p. iv. of Pref.

[4] See §. 87-90.

[5] See §. 107.

of the printed Life had "excerpted" various things from his papers.

By this imputation, Dr Barnard tells us that the publication of his own volume was provoked[1]. He indignantly denies the charge of plagiarism; he explains that the similar passages in the two Lives were derived from certain memoranda of Heylyn's own, which had been successively in the hands of both biographers; and in return he accuses Vernon of having borrowed largely from *his* papers, in addition to those passages for which the obligation was acknowledged[2]. Much of this might have been spared, if the writer had been acquainted with the fact which has been mentioned, that Vernon was not the editor of the folio Life. We have already seen, from his own statement, that he had interwoven passages from Vernon's MS. with the narrative which he sent to the publisher; and such of these as had been retained in the printed copy —which may be easily detected on a comparison of the three biographies,—were, doubtless, all that the author of them meant to claim; while, on the other hand, it would seem that the matter had been entirely taken out of Vernon's hands by the publisher—that his own manuscript had been returned to him, after being sent back from Lincolnshire, but that it was not accompanied either by that of Barnard or by the "civil letter." Thus Vernon knew nothing of the principle on which the folio Life had been constructed, and his own sentences had been borrowed for it. Bishop Barlow and the bookseller had made the mischief between the parties, who, instead of attempting a private explanation, attacked each other in print. As to the information which Barnard supposed that his rival must have derived from *his* papers—since we have reason to

[1] Barn. p. 10. [2] Ibid. p. 10-13.

think that Vernon had never seen those papers, the most probable explanation is that they may have been supplied by the son and nephew of Heylyn, to whom Vernon's work is dedicated.

Although a dispassionate modern reader may be little able to sympathize with Dr Barnard, either in his contempt for his rival, or in his opinion of his own great superiority, there could be no doubt which of the Lives was the more eligible for republication. The materials of both are in a great measure the same—the manuscript memoir already mentioned, and the autobiographical passages which are scattered throughout Heylyn's published works. But after the period to which the memoir extended—"the eleven first lustrums of his life[1]"—the work of the son-in-law has greatly the advantage over that of Vernon, who had never been acquainted with the subject of his biography[2].

It has not been thought necessary to reprint Barnard's Preface of sixty-nine pages, nor his Dedication to Crewe, Bishop of Durham. The chief contents of the Preface, besides the disparagement of the rival biography, are a retaliation on Baxter, who had spoken disrespectfully of Heylyn, and a vindication of the term *Protestant*, which the author wishes us to suppose that Vernon had treated in a slighting manner. This charge, it may be remarked, is as unjust as any part of Barnard's attack; for Vernon, after stating that the term "implies little in it of the positive part of Christianity—it being only a rejecting or *protesting* against the abominable errors and superstitions of the Roman Church," had proceeded to style it an "honourable and glorious name[3]," and to complain of those who unworthily assumed it.

[1] Vernon, p. 271. [2] Ibid. Pref. a. 2; Barn. p. 3.
[3] Epistle Dedicatory.

The "calumnies," of which the title-page announces a confutation, have no real existence in the pages of Vernon, whose tone is quite as laudatory as that of our author himself. Indeed Barnard allows[1] that his rival had "a hearty zeal and affection toward" the subject of his work, while he denies him "reason and common discretion" to guide these feelings; and the only proof of a calumnious inclination which is advanced, is the publication by Vernon of "these particulars following—(1) The Earl of Derby's speech to [Dr Heylyn][2]; (2) The rude usages he found in court[3]; (3) His writing *Mercurius Aulicus*[4]; (4) His clandestine marriage[5]; (5) His marrying a wife without a portion[6]; (6) His parishioners of Alresford persuaded that they should never fix eye on him, unless they took a journey to a gaol or a gallows[7]. All which matters," says Dr Barnard, "true or false, are unworthy to be mentioned in the Life of so venerable a person as Dr Heylyn; but they are scandals, and, for the most part, untruths, as shall appear hereafter[8]."

It may be observed that of these points there are only two which could be likely in any way to hurt the reputation of the subject—his clandestine marriage, and his engagement in the undignified office (as it was considered) of "diurnal-maker." As to the marriage, the fact is, that Vernon did no more than copy an account of it which had been published by Heylyn himself, and moreover, that whereas Heylyn and his first biographer had laboured to disprove the imputation of secrecy, Barnard himself proceeds to establish it[9]; while both the marriage and the authorship of the

[1] Barn. p. 22.
[2] See §. 101.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Vern. 123—5.
[5] See notes on §. 27.
[6] §. 26.
[7] Vern. 120.
[8] Barn. p. 17.
[9] See §. 27.

Mercurius Aulicus were matters as to which the readers of Heylyn's Life had a right to expect information from his biographer. I have introduced the account of the newspaper-writing into the text, (marking the insertion by brackets). Other passages from Vernon have also been inserted in like manner; and, where this could not be done without displacing or altering some of Barnard's words, extracts which it seemed desirable to borrow from the earlier biography have been printed in the notes.

The errata noticed in the list given by the author, and other evident mistakes of printing, have been tacitly corrected; but I have not ventured to interfere with the construction of the sentences—strangely perplexed and ungrammatical as they often are,—except by very rarely inserting in brackets a supplementary word.

The references of the old edition are marked by the letter *A*; but it has not appeared necessary to preserve the very form of these, nor to notice the errors which occur in them. I have endeavoured, in so far as the works cited were within my reach, to verify the classical and other quotations which are so profusely introduced; but as they are—to use the author's own expression—merely "ornaments," I have not held myself bound to search very laboriously for them.

71

THE LIFE

OF THE

MOST REVEREND AND LEARNED DIVINE,

DR PETER HEYLYN.

---

1. TO write the lives of worthy personages was ever accounted a most laudable custom among the heathens; for to perpetuate the memory of the dead who were eminent in virtue did manifestly conduce to the public benefit of the living. Much more the ancient Christians, in their time, both solemnly retained this practice, and adjudged it an act of piety and justice to the deceased, if they were men of fame for learning or other virtues, to celebrate their praises to posterity, and by this means stir[1] up emulation in
72 others to follow so noble precedents before them.

2. For which cause St Jerome writ his *Catalogus Illustrium Virorum;* before whom also Eusebius, with others, in short recorded to future ages the holy lives of those primitive fathers who were signally active or passive for the Christian faith. *Suum cuique decus posteritas rependit* (saith the historian[2]): "Posterity doth render to every man the commendation he deserves."

3. Therefore for the Reverend Doctor's sake, and in due veneration of his name,—which I doubt not is honoured by all true sons of the Church of England, both for his learned writings and constant sufferings in defence of her doctrine and discipline esta-

[1] So the folio. The 12mo. reads "stir'd."

[2] Tacit. [Annal.] iv. [35.] *A.*

blished by law—here is faithfully presented to them a true and complete narrative of his life; to answer the common expectations of men in this case, who would read his person (together with the ordinary and extraordinary occurrences of providence that befel him) as well as his books, that were long before published to the world.

4. To give satisfaction in the former, here is no- 73
thing inserted but the relations of truth, which hath been often heard from his own mouth, spoken to his dearest friends, or written by his pen in some loose fragments of paper that were found left in his study after his death; upon which, as on a sure foundation, the whole series and structure of the following discourse is laid together; but would have been more happily done, if he had left larger memoirs for it. Nothing was more usual in ancient times, than for good men (saith Tacitus[1]) to describe their own lives—(*suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt*)—"upon a confidence of their right behaviour, rather than to be supposed any arrogancy or presumption in them."

5. First of all, I shall begin with his birth, in that country above all other ennobled with the famous seat of the Muses, to which he was a constant votary. By Cambden, Oxford is called "the sun, eye, and soul of Great Britain[2];" by Matthew Paris, "the second school of the Church[3];" by the Reverend Doctor[4], "coeval to

[1] Agric. [1.] *A.*

[2] ["Oxford, I say, our most noble Athens, the Muses' seat, and one of England's stays; nay, the sun, eye, and soul thereof."]—Camd. Brit. [377.] *A.*

[3] "Schola secunda Ecclesiæ [after Paris] imo, ecclesiæ fundamentum."—Matt. Paris. p. 945. ed. Lond. 1640. (This is quoted by Camden, 580).

[4] Heyl. Cosmog. 306 [=271.] *A.* [The author used the edition of 1655, while that in the editor's hands is the first, of 1652.]

74 Paris, if not before it, the glory of this island and of the western parts." Yet it cannot be denied as high praises have been attributed by learned men to the most famous University of Cambridge, that I dare make no comparisons betwixt those two sisters of Minerva, for the love I owe to either of them, who were both my dear nurses[1]. However, the University of Oxon was long since honoured with the title of *generale studium, in nobilissimis quatuor Europæ academiis*[2]; and this glorious title conferred upon none else in former times, but the Universities of Paris in France, Bononia in Italy, and Salamanca in Spain[3]. Near which Oxon, or noble Athens, he was born, at Burford, an ancient market-town of good note, in the county of Oxford, upon the twenty-ninth day of November, anno Dom. 1600, in the same year with the celebrated historian Jacob. August. Thuanus[4]. On both whom the stars poured out the like benign influences; but the former, *viz.* Peter Heylyn, had not only the faculty of an historian, but the gift of a general scholar in other learning, πολυμαθέστατος καὶ ὁ πέρι πᾶν πεπαιδευμένος, as will appear to any one that reads his laborious writings.

75 6. He was second son of Henry Heylyn, gentleman, descended from the ancient family of the Heylyns of Pentre-Heylyn[5], in Montgomeryshire, then part

[1] See p. xxi, n. 2.

[2] Angel. Rocha, p. 214. *A.* [This reference is taken from Heylyn's Cypr. Angl. 317, where a quotation is given—"Hebraicæ, Arabicæ, Græcæ linguæ studium propagandæ fidei ergo in nobilissimis quatuor Europæ academiis instituitur."]

[3] Heyl. Cosmog. ibid.; Camd. Brit. 380.

[4] Quensted, Dialog. de Patriis Illustr. Virorum, [p. 50, Witteberg. 1691. But there is an error here, Thuanus having been born in 1553. (Conversat. Lexic.)]

[5] So the folio and Vernon; "Peutre-Heylyn," ed. Barn. here and below.

of Powis-land, from the princes whereof they were derived, and unto whom they were hereditary cup-bearers[1]; for so the word "Heylyn" doth signify in the Welch or British language[2];—an honourable office in most nations, which we find in divine as well as profane history; whereby Nehemiah became so great a favourite with Artaxerxes, that he obtained a grant for the rebuilding of the holy city[3]. *Magni honoris erat pincernæ munus apud Persas,* saith Alex[ander] ab Alex[andro].

7. If Camden Clarencieux be of good authority, (as with most he is unquestionable), the Doctor deriveth his pedigree from Grono ap-Heylyn, who descended from Brockwel Skythrac, one of the Princes of Powis-land[4], in whose family was ever observed that one of them had a gag-tooth, and the same was a notable omen of good fortune; which mark of the tooth is still continued in the Doctor's family. These and such-like signatures of more wonderful form are in- 76
deed very rare, yet not without example: so Seleucus and his children after him were born with the figure of an anchor upon their thigh, as an infallible mark of their true geniture, (saith Justin): *Originis hujus argumentum etiam posteris mansit, si quidem filii nepotesque ejus anchoram in femore veluti notam generis naturalem habuere*[5].

8. The aforesaid Grono ap-Heylyn, from whom the Doctor is one of the descendants, was a man of so great authority with the Princes of North Wales, that Llewellen, the last Prince of the country, made choice of

[1] Cosmog. [292.] *A.*

[2] "'Heylyn, *Promus,* sive *a poculis,* quæ vox in proprium nomen abiit,' saith the Welsh dictionary."—Ibid.

[3] Nehem. i. 11; ii. 8. [4] Cosmog. 292.

[5] Justin, xv. [4.] *A.* ["Originis *ejus,*" &c. i. e. of an extraordinary origin, which the historian relates.]

him before any other, to treat with the Commissioners of Edward the First, King of England, for the concluding of a final peace between them[1]; which was accordingly done; but afterwards Llewellen, by the persuasion of David his brother, raised an army against the King, that were quickly routed; himself slain in battle: and in him ended the line of the Princes of North Wales,—who had before withstood many puissant monarchs, whose attempts they always frustrated by re-
77 tiring into the heart of their country, and (as the Doctor saith[2]) "leaving nothing for their enemies to encounter with but woods and mountains,"—after they had reigned Princes of North Wales for the space of four hundred and five years—a goodly time, that scarcely the greatest monarchies in the world have withstood their fatal period and dissolution, as chronologers usually observe—*Anni quingenti sunt fatalis periodus regnorum et rerum publicarum*, saith Alsted[3].

9. But this little monarchy of Wales may be compared to a finger or toe, or the least joint, indiscernible in the vast body of the four great empires, and yet withal shews the mutability of them and all worldly powers—that time will triumph in the ruin of the strongest states and kingdoms; as is most excellently represented to us by Nebuchadnezzar's image of gold, silver, iron, and brass, that mouldered away, though durable metal, because it stood upon feet of clay[4]. So unstable are all mortal things, and of no longer duration are the most high and mighty powers under heaven than the
78 British monarchy; which caused the historian to complain, that the more he meditated with himself of

[1] Cosmog. 292. [2] Ibid. 326. [= 292.] *A*.
[3] Alsted, Chr. Synch. *A*. [J. H. Alstedii Thesaur. Chronologiæ, 12mo.?]
[4] Daniel ii.

things done both in old and latter times, *tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur*[1]—"so much the more," saith he, "the uncertainties and mock vanities of fortune in all worldly affairs came to his remembrance."

10. Notwithstanding those great alterations in Wales, no longer a kingdom of itself, but annexed to the crown of England, the family of Pentre-Heylyn, from whom the said Grono ap-Heylyn descended in a direct line, removed not their station for all the ages past, but continued their seat until the year anno Dom. 1637; at which time Mr Rowland Heylyn, Alderman and Sheriff of London, and cousin-german to Dr Heylyn's father, dying without issue-male, the seat was transferred into another family, into which the heiresses married. This Mr Rowland Heylyn was a man of singular goodness and piety, that before his death caused the Welch or British Bible to be printed at his own charge in a portable volume[2], for the benefit of his countrymen, which was before in a large church 79
folio; also the "Practice of Piety" in Welch—a book, though common, not to be despised; besides a Welch Dictionary for the better understanding of that language; all which certainly was a most pious work, notwithstanding their opinion to the contrary, who think that the Bible in a vulgar tongue is not for edification but destruction[3]. Yet God hath been pleased in all ages to stir up some devout men of public spirits, as Sixtus Senensis the monk confesseth, that Christians may read the holy Bible to their own edification and comfort, and not be kept hood-

[1] Tacit. [Annal.] iii. [18.] *A.*

[2] Cypr. Anglic. 152. [=203.] *A.*

[3] "Populus non capit fructum sed detrimentum." Bellarm. De Verbo Dei, l. ii. c. 15. *A.* ["Quid? quod populus non solum non caperet fructum ex Scripturis, sed etiam caperet detrimentum."—t. i. p. 119.]

winked in blindness and heathenish ignorance[1]. Not to mention what other nations hath done, King Alfred caused both the Old and New Testament to be published in the vulgar tongue for the benefit of this land[2]; and in the reign of Richard the Second the whole Scripture was set forth in English, as Polydor Virgil testifies[3], that, when the parliament endeavoured to suppress the same, John Duke of Lancaster stood up in defence thereof, saying, "We will not be the
80 refuse of all men; for other nations have God's laws in their own language: so ought we." Therefore, seeing such noble precedents of godly zeal for the general instruction of the people, it was a most excellent work of the good Alderman Mr Rowland Heylyn to print those Welch Bibles, which were before rare and costly, but now grown common in every man's hand, and in his own mother's tongue.

11. As the Doctor was of honourable extraction by his father's side, so his mother's pedigree was not mean and contemptible, but answered the quality of her husband; being a gentlewoman of an ancient family, whose name was Eliz. Clampard, daughter of Francis Clampard of Wrotham in Kent, and of Mary Dodge, his wife, descended in a direct line from Peter Dodge of Stopworth in Cheshire, unto whom King Edward the First gave the seigniory or lordship of Padenhugh in the barony of Coldingham, in the realm of Scotland, as well for his special services that he did in the siege of Barwick and Dunbar, as for his valour shewed in several battles, *encontre son grand enemy*
81 *et rebelle le Baillol, roy d'Escose et vassal d'Angle terre,*

[1] Sixt. Sen. Bib. l. vi. *A.* [See Heyl. Tracts, 35.]

[2] See Collier, i. 401; Bp. Short's Sketch of the Church, ii. 67, ed. 1.

[3] Polyd. Verg. Hist. Angl. 120. *A.* [This reference does not agree with the Basel edition of 1555. The version of Wiclif is intended.]

as the words are in the original charter of arms, given to the said Peter Dodge by Guyen King of Arms, at the King's command, dated April the 8th, in the 34th year of the said King Edward the First[1]. One of the descendants from the said Peter Dodge was uncle to Dr Heylyn's mother, and gave the manor of Lechlade in the county of Gloucester, worth £1400 per annum, to Robert Bathurst, Esq., uncle to the Doctor, and father to the loyal Knight and Baronet[2], Sir Edward Bathurst, lately deceased.

12. The Doctor in his green and tender years was
[1606] put to school at Burford, (the place of his nativity and education), under the care of Mr William North, then schoolmaster; by whose good instructions, and his own wonderful ingenuity, he grew up to that proficiency in learning, that he was admired both by his master and scholars; because his entrance into the free school was at the time of childhood, when he was but six years old; betwixt which time and the space of four years after he plied his book so well, that he appeared more than an ordinary Latinist, being composer of several 82
exercises both in prose and verse, particularly a tragi-comedy upon the wars and destruction of Troy[3], with other exercises historical, which foreshewed what an excellency he would after attain unto in all kind of generous learning.

13. Such early blossoms are for the most part blasted, or seldom bring forth fruit to ripeness and perfection; that few examples can be named of pre-

[1] Cosmog. 339. [= 305.] The Doctor saith he hath this charter in his custody.—[ibid.] *A.*

[2] "That honest and modest gentleman."—Vernon, 5.

[3] "He framed a story in verse and prose, upon a ludicrous subject, of which he himself was spectator. And he composed it in imitation of the *History of the Destruction of Troy*, and some other books of chivalry, upon which he was then very studious and intent."—Vernon, 5-6.

cocious wits as have been long-lived, or come near to the years of old age, as the Doctor did, excepting one famously known above others, Hermogenes the rhetorician, of whom it was said, ὁ ἐν παισὶ γέρων, ἐν δὲ γέρουσι παῖς—"He was an old man when he was a child, and a child when he was an old man[1]." In his childhood he was often brought before Marcus Ant[oninus], the Roman Emperor, who delighted to hear his talk, for the natural eloquence that flowed from him: but though he lived long, his wit and admired parts soon decayed; and for his long life, saith Rhodiginus of him, *ut unus ex multis*[2], "he was one (as it were) of a thou-
83 sand." Yet a reverend Father of the Christian Church, the glory of his time, St Augustine, did far excel Hermogenes the orator; for he tells us in his Confessions, that *in secunda pueritia*, that is, about the age of twelve, *legisse et intellexisse Logicos et Rhetoricos Aristotelis libros*[3], "he read and understood the books of Aristotle's Logic and Rhetoric;" by which learning and study of divinity, well managed together, St Augustine appeared the only champion in the field for the orthodox faith, confounded the Manichees, Donatists, and other heretics, and finally he lived to a great old age,—a blessing which ordinarily accompanied the primitive Bishops and holy Fathers, and still is continued, as may be observed, to the worthy Prelates of our Church. But to find many of prodigious

[1] Suid. [Lexic. in voc. Ἑρμογένης, where the circumstances here stated are mentioned. Hermogenes wrote his Rhetoric at eighteen, and at twenty-four ἐξέστη τῶν φρενῶν, καὶ ἦν ἀλλοῖος αὑτοῦ, μηδεμιᾶς ἀφορμῆς γενομένης.] *A.*

[2] [Vixit quidem diu, sed ut unus ex multis.]—Cœl. Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. xxi. 6. [col. 1156, ed. Colon. Allobrog. 1620.] *A.* [So Suidas also says, εἷς τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόμενος; but the meaning of both writers is, not that he was extraordinary for the length of his life, but that after the failure of his intellects he was no more than an ordinary person.]

[3] S. Aug. Confess. l. iv. *A.* [In c. 28, he speaks of reading and understanding Aristotle's Categories, when "annos natus ferme viginti;" but the editor has not found the passage here quoted.]

[1610—3] wits and memories from childhood, and for such persons to live unto extraordinary years, and keep up their wonted parts most vigorously after they are turned sixty,—which is the deep autumn of man's life,—I believe Dr Heylyn had the happy fortune in youth and age above many others, that his virtues and excellent abilities kept equal balance together for all his life, *primus ad extremum similis sibi*[1]—that as he began 84
happily, so he went on; like Isocrates his master, who, being always the same, could say, *Nihil habeo quod senectutem meam accusem*—"He had nothing to accuse his old age with[2]."

14. After he was first disciplined under his master North, whom death took from the school to another world[3], he was committed to his successor Mr Davis, a right worthy man and painful schoolmaster, who trained him up in all points of learning befitting a young scholar for the University; where he was admitted at the fourteenth year of his age commoner in Hart Hall[4], and put under the tuition of Mr Joseph Hill, an ancient Batchelor of Divinity, and formerly one of the Fellows of Corpus Christi College, but then a Tutor in Hart Hall. After whom Mr Walter Newbery, a zealous Puritan in those days[5], undertook the charge of him; who little thought his pupil would afterward prove so sharp an enemy to the Puritan faction. But

[1] Hor. Art. Poet. 254. [2] Val. Max. viii. 13. [2.] *A*.

[3] Vernon states that "his proficiency in letters was much retarded by a distemper that seized on his head, the cure of which was not effected under the space of two years;" and that the death of his first master took place during the intermission of his studies, which was caused by this disorder.—pp. 6-7.

[4] 1613.—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 552.

[5] Vernon says "*afterwards* a zealous Puritan" (p. 9): but the expression in the text is borne out by a passage in Heylyn's dedication of his Sermons on the Tares—(quoted in Wood, iii. 552.) "It was my happiness to be bred under such a father as very well understood the constitution of the Church of England; and, although my tutor in Hart Hall was biassed on the other side, and that I was then very

by the help of his two tutors, who faithfully discharged [1613–6]
their office in reading logical lectures to him and other
85 kind of learning, his own industry also and earnest
desire to attain unto academical sciences setting him
forward beyond his years and standing, he was en-
couraged by his tutor and good friends (who saw his
parts were prodigious) to stand for a Demy's place in
Magdalen College at the time of their election[1]. But
he being very young, and the Fellows already pre-
engaged for another, he missed the first time, as is
usual in this case; with which disappointment he was
not at all discouraged, but cheerfully followed the
course of his studies: and, among other exercises for
recreation sake, and to shew his wit and fancy, he
framed a copy of verses in Latin, on occasion of a
pleasant journey he took with his two tutors to Wood-
stock; which verses he presented to the President and
Fellows of Magdalen College, who at the next election,
in the year 1615, unanimously chose him Demy of the
House[2], where soon after he was made Impositor of the
Hall[3]: which office—(no small honour to him, being
then but fifteen years of age)—he executed with that
86 trust and diligence, that the Dean of the College con-

young, and capable of any impression which he might think fit to stamp upon me, yet I carried thence the same principles I brought thither with me, and which I had sucked in, as it were, with my mother's milk."

[1] July 22, 1614. "Having no other recommendations than Sir John Walter's, then Attorney-general to the Prince, and afterward Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer."—Vernon, 9.

[2] "But immediately after his admission into that noble foundation, he fell into a consumption, which constrained him to retire to his native air, where he continued till Christmas following. He was a year after his admission made impositor of the hall."—Vern. 10.

[3] "This title is given to the Demy whose office it is to place on each table the names of those entitled to 'commons' at it. The office has become a sinecure, but is still kept up, and an allowance is made to the Demy who has it." Letter to the Editor from a friend at Oxford.

[1616–8] tinued him longer in it than any of his predecessors; for which he was so envied by his fellow Demies—(as that malignant passion is always the concomitant of honour)—that they called him by the name of *Perpetual Dictator*. About the same time, being very eager upon his juvenile studies, he composed an English tragedy, called by him *Spurius*, that was so generally well liked by the society, that Dr Langton, the President, commanded it to be acted in his lodgings.

15. After those and many other *specimina ingenii*, fair testimonies of his wit and scholarship, he easily obtained his grace for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in [July] the year 1617[1], [but was not presented to it till the October following, by reason of the absence of one of his seniors; holding it unworthy to prejudice another person for his own advancement. After the performance of the Lent exercises for his degree, he fell into a fever, which, increasing with great violence, at last turned into a tertian ague, and caused him again to retreat unto his country air, which he enjoyed till the middle of July following, and][2] then, according to the College Statutes and custom, that requires some exercise to be performed by a junior bachelor in the long vacation, he read several lectures of geography[3], to which his genius naturally led him, and carried them on so pleasantly in a new method, not observed by others, by joining history with cosmography, that made the work very delightful; for scarce any memorable action done in any nation, country, or famous city in 87
the world, but he hath recorded it: which was a wonderful task for a youth of his years; that all his auditors, grave fellows as well as others, was struck into deep admiration of his profound learning and wisdom, that forthwith the whole society, *nemine con-*

[1] Vern. 10; Wood. [2] Inserted from Vernon, 10-11.
[3] The first lecture was read in July 1618.—Vern. 11.

tradicente, admitted him Probationer Fellow, in the [1618—20]
place of Mr Love, and that before such time he had fully finished the reading of his lectures. And for a further encouragement of him in his studies, being also a good philosopher as well as geographer, the college chose him Moderator of the Senior Form in the Hall, that brought both credit to his name and profit to his purse; for which, in gratitude to them,—(as he ever shewed a grateful mind to his patrons and benefactors,)—he presently writ a Latin comedy, called by him *Theomachia,* which he finished and transcribed in a fortnight's time, and dedicated the same to the Fellows; who were so highly pleased with his ingenuity and pains, that on July the 19th, 1619, he was admitted Fellow in that honourable society, according to the
88 usual form—*In verum et perpetuum socium.* After which followed a new honour upon him,—(as all degrees in the university are honourable, and but the just reward of learned men)—that in the year 1620 the University conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts. And surely a young master he was, that not one of twenty is capable of this degree at his years; but more remarkable it was at that time, because he was one of those masters that first sat with their caps on in the Convocation-house, by order of the Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the University, who signified his Lordship's pleasure by his especial letters: "That from that time forward, the Masters of Arts, who before sat bare, should wear their caps in all congregations and convocations;" which has been ever since observed[1].

[1] "Unto which act of grace his Lordship was induced by an humble petition presented to him by the regent masters, in behalf of themselves and non-regents, as also by Dr Prideaux, then Vice-Chancellor, who, being pre-acquainted with the business, gave great encouragement to proceed onward in it," &c.—Vernon, 12-13.

It appears from Wood, Hist. and Antiq. Oxf. ii. 317-9, 336-8, that

[1620—1] 16. He, now a Master of Arts in the University, and Fellow of a noble College, than which no greater encouragements can be imagined for young men to follow their studies, and put audacity into them to shew their parts, especially when they have gained by their learning and merits both preferment and honour 89
—he was persuaded by several friends to publish those Geographical Lectures[1] which he read in the long vacation, that others might taste the sweetness and pleasure of those studies, besides his own fellow-collegians. Accordingly, having got his father's[2] consent for the printing of them, and the perusal and approbation of his book by some learned men, at the age of twenty and one years the young writer comes forth, November the 7th, anno Dom. 1621. Whose ingenious writings found such general acceptance, (*manibus omnium teruntur*[3],) that scarce any scholar's study was without them; and to this day, since their enlargement by several editions, are as commonly cited upon occasion as any authentic author that is extant. The first copy was presented to his Royal Highness King Charles the First, then Prince of Wales, unto whom the young author dedicated his work, and by the young Prince was as graciously received, being brought into his Highness' presence by Sir Robert Carr, afterward Earl of Ancram[4],

the wearing of the cap was an ancient right, which had been lost by neglect. There had been an agitation on the subject in 1614—the Vice-Chancellor of that time, Dr Singleton, being strongly opposed to the claim. Among the persons who subscribed the petition of 1620, Wood mentions Sheldon, Farindon, and Heylyn.

[1] The Geography was written between Feb. 22 and Apr. 29.—Vernon, 12. This seems to have been in 1620.

[2] Who died soon after this.—Vern. 14.

[3] "Teritur noster ubique liber."—Martial. viii. iii. 4. The words "Quæ jam manibus hominum teruntur," are used of Heylyn's works in the Epitaph which will be found at the end of the Life.

[4] Ancestor of the Lothian family.

but then one of the Gentlemen of the Prince's Bed- [1621—3]
chamber.

90 17. Having so fortunate a beginning, to gain the Prince his patron, he desisted in geography, and proceeded to higher studies, that might capacitate him for greater services hereafter, both in Church and State. In order thereto, first piously he took along with him the episcopal blessing of confirmation by the hands of Bishop Lake[1], in the parish-church of Wells, September the 15th, anno Dom. 1623[2]; the fruits of whose fatherly benediction, [and] devout prayers, with imposition of hands, did manifestly appear in this true son of the Church; whom the Almighty did bless, and "daily increase in him the manifold gift of grace, bestowed on him the spirit of wisdom and understanding[3]," &c. And certainly such singular benefits does accompany this apostolical institution, mentioned in Scripture, constantly used in the primitive Church, that the neglect or contempt thereof from the hands of God's Bishops no doubt deprives us of many good blessings which we should otherwise receive from the hands of God. Being thus confirmed by the Bishop, according to the order of the Church
91 of England, he afterward applied himself to the study of divinity, which St Basil calleth *θεωρία τοῦ ὄντος*[4], the theory or contemplation of the great God, or his being, so far as he hath revealed himself to us in the book of nature and Scripture. This knowledge excelleth all other, and without it who knoweth not the saying, *Omnem scientiam magis obesse quam prodesse, si desit scientia optimi*[5], that "all other knowledge does us more

[1] Arthur Lake, consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1616, died 1626.

[2] 1622, according to the folio, iv. and Vernon, 14.

[3] Order of Confirmation. [4] S. Basil. Hexaëm. *A.*

[5] "Infelix homo qui scit illa omnia, te autem nescit; beatus autem

[1623] hurt than good, if this be wanting." Notwithstanding, he met with some discouragements to take upon himself the profession of a divine, for what reasons it is hard for me to conjecture; but it's certain at first he found some reluctancy within himself, whether for the difficulties that usually attend this deep mysterious science, to natural reason incomprehensible, because containing many matters of faith, which we ought to believe and not to question,—(though now divinity is the common mystery of mechanics, to whom it seems more easy than their manual trades and occupations;)—or whether because it drew him off from his former delightful studies. More probably (I believe), his fears and distrusts of himself were very great, to engage in so high 92
a calling and profession and run the hazards of it, because the like examples are very frequent both in antiquity and modern history. However, so timorous he was upon this account, lest he should rush too suddenly into the ministry, although his abilities at that time transcended many of elder years, that he exhibited a certificate of his age to the President of the College, and thereby procured a dispensation, notwithstanding any local statutes to the contrary, that he might not be compelled to enter into holy orders till he was twenty-four years old: at which time still his fears did continue, or at least his modesty and self-denial wrought some unwillingness in him, till at last he was overcome by the arguments and powerful persuasions of his learned friend Mr Buckner[1]; after whose excellent discourses with him he followed his studies

qui te scit, etiamsi illa nesciat."—S. Aug. Confess. v. 7. Cf. De Imitat. Christi, i. 1-2; iii. 43.

[1] Probably Thomas Buckner, of Magdalene College, who took the degree of D.D. in 1638, was a prebendary of Winchester, and died in 1644.—Wood, Fasti Oxon. i. 276, ed. Lond. 1721.

in divinity more closely than ever,—(having once tasted [1624]
the sweetness of them, nothing can ravish the soul
more with pleasure unto an ecstasy than divine con-
93 templation of God and the mysteries in his holy word,
which the angels themselves pry into[1], and for which
reason they love to be present in Christian assemblies
when the Gospel is preached, as the Apostle intimates
to us[2]:)—that by continual study and meditation, and
giving himself wholly to read theological books, he found
in himself an earnest desire to enter into the holy orders
of Deacon and Priest, which he had conferred upon him
at distinct times in St Aldate's Church at Oxon, by the
Reverend Father in God Bishop Howson[3]. At the time
when he was ordained priest, he preached the ordi-
nation sermon, upon the words of our Saviour to St
Peter, Luke xxii. 32: "And when thou art converted,
strengthen thy brethren"—an apposite text upon so
solemn occasion. Being thus ordained, to his great
satisfaction and contentment, the method which he
resolved to follow in the course of his studies was quite
contrary to the common road of young students; for he
did not spend his time in poring upon compendiums
and little systems of divinity, whereby many young
priests think they are made absolute divines, when
perhaps a gentleman of the parish doth oftentimes
94 gravel them in an ordinary argument; but he fell upon
the main body of divinity, by studying Fathers, Councils,
Ecclesiastical Histories, and Schoolmen,—the way which
King James[4] commended to all younger students for

[1] 1 Pet. i. 12. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 10.

[3] John Howson, consecrated Bp. of Oxford, 1619, translated to Durham, 1628, died 1631.—Godwin, 546, 758.

[4] "That young students in divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England, and incited to bestow their times in the fathers and councils, schoolmen, histories, and controversies, and not to insist too long upon

[1624] confirming them in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, that is most agreeable to the doctrine of the primitive Church.

18. By this time his book of Geography,—in the first edition bought up by scholars, gentlemen, and almost every householder, for the pleasantness of its reading,—was reprinted and enlarged in a second edition, and presented again to his highness the Prince of Wales, who not only graciously accepted the book, but was pleased to pass a singular commendation upon the author. But afterward the book being perused by his royal father King James, the second Solomon for wisdom, and most learned monarch in Christendom, —(the book put into his Majesty's hand by Dr Young[1], then Dean of Winton, and Mr Heylyn's dear friend),— the King's piercing judgment quickly spied out a fault[2], which was taken no notice of by others;—as God always endows Kings his vicegerents with that 95
extraordinary gift, the spirit of discerning above other mortals,—(*Sicut angelus Dei est dominus meus Rex,* saith the holy Scripture[3], "As an angel of God, so is my lord the King.") Who, lighting upon a line that proved an unlucky passage in the author, who gave precedency to the French King, and called France the more famous kingdom; with which King James was so highly displeased, that he presently ordered the Lord Keeper

compendiums and abbreviatures, making them the grounds of their study in divinity."—K. James' Directions for the University of Oxford, 1616. (Cypr. Angl. 72.) Heylyn states in the Preface to his *Theologia Veterum,* that he adopted this direction as the rule of his studies.

[1] John Young, Dean of Winchester, 1616. He was ejected from his preferments, and may be presumed to have died before 1660, as he did not then resume the deanery. See Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, Pt. ii. 76, and Le Neve's Fasti.

[2] "The King at first expressed the great value he had for the author; but unfortunately falling on a passage, &c."—Vern. 18.

[3] 1 Sam. xiv. 7; xix. 27.

to call the book in: but this being said in his anger and passion, no further notice was taken of it. In the mean time Dr Young took all care to send Mr Heylyn word of his Majesty's displeasure; the news of which was no small sorrow to him, that he was now in danger to lose the King's favour,— [1624]

> Nil nisi peccatum manifestaque culpa fatendum est.
> Pœnitet ingenii, judiciique mei[1]—

that Mr Heylyn could have wished them words had been left out. Dr Young advised him to repair to court, that by the young Prince's patronage he might pacify the King's anger; but, not knowing whether
96 the Prince himself might not be also offended, he resided still in Oxford, and laid open his whole grief to the Lord Danvers, desiring his lordship's counsel and best advice, what remedy he should seek for cure. According to the good lord's counsel, he sent up an apology to Dr Young, which was an explanation of his meaning upon the words in question, and then under condemnation: the error was not to be imputed to the author, but to the *errata* of the printer, which is most ordinary in them, to mistake one word for another; and the grand mistake was, by printing *is* for *was*, which put the whole sentence out of joint, and the author into pain, if it had been of a higher crime than of a monosyllable, it had not been pardonable, for the intention of the author was very innocent[2].—

> Quis me deceperit error?
> Et culpam in facto, non scelus esse meo[3].

[1] Ovid. Trist. II. i. [315-6.] *A.* [The old ed. reads *fatenda*.]

[2] No change has been introduced here, although the text is unintelligible. Perhaps we ought to make *If* the beginning of a new sentence, and to read—"If it had been a higher crime than of a monosyllable, it had yet been pardonable."

[3] Ovid. Trist. IV. i. 23-4.

The words of his apology which he sent up to Dr Young, for his Majesty's satisfaction, are these that followeth[1]—

"That some crimes are of a nature so injustifiable, that they are improved by an apology; yet, considering the purpose he had in those places which gave offence to his sacred Majesty, he was unwilling 97
that his innocence should be condemned for want of an advocate. The burden[2] under which he suffered was a mistake rather than a crime; and that mistake not his own, but the printer's. For if, in the first line of page 441, *was* be read instead of *is*, the sense runs as he designed[3] it; and this appears from the words immediately following; for by them may be gathered the sense of this corrected reading: 'When Edward the Third quartered the arms of France and England, he gave precedency to the French; first, because France was the greater[4] and more famous kingdom; 2. that the French,' &c. These reasons are to be referred to the time of that King, by whom those[5] arms were first quartered with the arms of England, and who desired by [this] honour done unto their arms to gain upon the good opinion of that nation, for the crown and love whereof[6] he was then a suitor; for at this time—(besides [that] it may seem incongruous[7] to use a verb of the present tense in a matter done so long ago)—that reason is not of the least force or consequence; the French King[8] having so long since 98
forgot the rights of England, and our late Princes claiming nothing but the title only. The place and

[1] The text of this apology has been amended from the copy in Vernon, 19-24.

[2] Barn. "burthens."

[3] Barn. "desired."

[4] Barn. "great."

[5] Barn. "the."

[6] Barn. "thereof."

[7] Vern. "ridiculous."

[8] Vern. omits "king"—perhaps correctly.

passage so corrected, I hope I may, without detraction from the glory of this nation, affirm that France was at that time the more famous kingdom. Our English swords, for more than half the time since the Norman Conquest, had been turned against our own bosoms; and the wars we then made,—except some fortunate excursions of King Edward the First in France, and King Richard in the Holy Land,—in my opinion were fuller of pity[1] than of honour. For what was our kingdom under the reigns of Edward the Second, Henry the Third, John, Stephen, and Rufus, but a public theatre on which the tragedies of blood and civil dissensions had been continually acted? On the other side, the French had exercised their arms with credit and renown both in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and had much added to the glory of their name and nation by conquering the kingdoms of Naples and Sicilia, and driving the English themselves out of
99 [all] France, Guyen only excepted. If we look higher, we shall find France to be the first seat of the Western Empire, and the forces of it to be known and felt by the Saracens in Spain, the Saxons in Germany, and the Lombards in Italy: at which time the valour of the English was imprisoned in the same seas with their island. And therefore France was at that time, when first the arms were quartered, the more famous kingdom. It is true indeed, that since the time of those victorious Princes, those *duo fulmina belli*[2], Edward the Third and the Black Prince his son, the arms of England have been exercised in most parts of Europe; nor am I ignorant how high we stand above France and all other nations in [the] true fame of our achievements. France itself divers times overrun, and once conquered, the house of Burgundy upheld from ruin,

[1] Barn. "piety."

[2] Virg Æn. vi. 843.

the Hollanders supported, Spain awed, the ocean commanded,—are sufficient testimonies that in pursuit of fame and honour we had no equals. That I always was of this opinion, my book speaks for me,—(and indeed so unworthy a person needs no better advocate), 100
—in which I have been nowhere wanting to commit to memory the honourable performances of my country. The great annalist Baronius, pretending only a true and sincere History of the Church, yet tells the Pope, in his Epistle Dedicatory, that he principally did intend that work *pro sacrarum traditionum antiquitate, et authoritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ*[1]. The like may I say of myself, though not with like imputation of imposture. I promised a description of all the world, and have, according to the measure of my poor ability[2], fully performed it; yet have I apprehended withal every modest occasion of ennobling and extolling the soldiers and Kings of England.

"Concerning the other place at which his most sacred Majesty is offended, viz. the precedency of France before England[3];—besides that I do not speak of England as it now stands, augmented by the happy addition of Scotland, I had it from an author whom, in my poverty of reading, I conceived above all exception. Cambden Clarencieux, that general and accomplished scholar, in the fifth page[4] of his Remains, had 101
so informed me; if there be error in it, it is not mine but my author's. The precedency which he there speaks of, is in general councils. And I do heartily wish it would please the Lord to give such a sudden

[1] This is also quoted by Heylyn, Cosmog. Pref. p. 3. The last words in Baronius are "ac S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ potestate."

[2] Vern. "abilities."

[3] The words "concerning . . . England" are not in Vernon.

[4] Vernon wrongly reads "part." The passage is in p. 4 of the 4th edition of Camden.

blessing to his Church, that I might live to see Mr Cambden confuted by so good an argument as the sitting of a general council." [1624—5]

Thus Mr Heylyn apologized for himself, in his letter written to the Dean of Winton, who shewed the whole apology to the King: with which his Majesty was fully satisfied, as to the sincere intention and innocent meaning of author; yet, to avoid all further scruples and misconstructions that might arise hereafter, Mr Heylyn, by the advice of his good friend, the wise and most worthy Dean, took order that whole clause which gave so much offence should be left out of all his books.

Ita plerique ingenio sumus omnes; nostri nosmet pœnitet[1],

as once the comedian said.

Having undergone such troubles about France, he was resolved upon a further adventure, to take a voyage
102 thither, with his faithful friend Mr Levet, of Lincoln's Inn, who afterward, poor gentleman, through misfortune of the times, lived and died prisoner in the Fleet. They both set out anno Dom. 1625, and, after their safe arrival in France, took a singular interview of the chief cities and most eminent places in the realm, of which Mr Heylyn gives a more accurate account and description (though his stay was not there above five weeks) than Lassel[2] the priest doth of his five years' voyage into Italy. And now Mr Heylyn was sufficiently convinced with his own eyes which was the more famous kingdom, that after his return home he composed a History of his Travels into France; and, being put into the hands of several friends, [it] was

[1] Terent. Phorm. I. iii. 20.

[2] Lassels, Richard, "Voyage through Italy, with the characters of the People, and a description of the chief Towns." Par. 1670.—Watt's Bibliotheca, ii. 589, where three London editions are also mentioned.

at first printed by a false copy[1], full of gross errors and insufferable mistakes, that he caused his own true copy to be printed,—one of the most delightful histories of that nature that hath been ever heretofore published; wherein is set out to the life the *monsieurs* and the *madams*[2], the nobility and the peasantry, the court and country; their ridiculous customs, fantastical gait, apparel, and fashions, foolish common talk, so given to 103
levity that without singing and dancing they cannot walk the open streets; in the Church serious and superstitious; the better sort horridly atheistical.

Besides all he hath written in that ingenious book, I think he hath in short most excellently deciphered them in his Cosmography[3], where he maketh a second review of their pretty qualities and conditions; as thus, if the reader has a mind to read them: "They are very quick-witted, of a sudden and nimble apprehension, but withal rash and hare-brained; precipitate in all their actions, as well military as civil, falling on like a clap of thunder, and presently going off in smoke; full of law-suits and contentions, that their lawyers never want work; so litigious that there are more law-suits tried among them in seven years than have been in England from the Conquest. Their women witty, but apish, sluttish, wanton, and incontinent; generally at the first sight as familiar with you as if they had known you from the cradle, and are so full

[1] The spurious edition, entitled "France Painted to the Life," and bearing the name of Richard Bignall as the author, did not appear until 1656—thirty years after the tour described in it.—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 563.

[2] "Never was the vanity and levity of the *Monsieurs*, and the deformity and sluttishness of their *Madames* more ingeniously exposed, both in prose and verse."—Vern. 25.

[3] Cosmog. 176-7. [= 145-6.] *A*. [The account in the text is abridged, and the order altered. The character of the French is more qualified in the Cosmography than it here appears.]

of chat and tattle, even with those they know not, as if they were resolved sooner to want breath than words,
104 and never to be silent till in the grave: dancing such a sport, to which both men and women are so generally affected, that neither age nor sickness, no nor poverty itself, can make them keep their heels still when they hear the music. Such as can hardly walk abroad without crutches, or go as if they were troubled all day with a sciatica, and perchance have their rags hang so loose about them that one would think a swift galliard might shake them into their nakedness, will to the dancing-green howsoever, and be there as eager at the sport as if they had left their several infirmities and wants behind them. Their language is very much expressed by their action; for the head and shoulders must move as significantly, when they speak, as their lips and tongue, and he that hopeth to speak with a grace must have in him somewhat of the mimic. They are naturally disposed for courtship, as makes all the people complimental, that the poorest cobbler in the parish hath his court cringes, and his *eau beniste de cour*, his 'court holy water,' (as they call it), as perfectly as the best gentleman-usher of Paris. They wear their hair long, goes thin and open to the very
105 shirt, as if there were continual summer; in their gait, walk fast, as if pursued on an arrest[1]. Their humour is much of scoffing, yea even in matters of religion; as appeareth in the story of a gentleman that lay sick on his bed, who, seeing the host brought unto him by a lubberly priest, said that 'Christ came to him as he entered into Jerusalem, riding upon an ass.' I cannot forget another of the like kind, a gentleman lying sick upon his death-bed, who, when the priest had persuaded him that the Sacrament of the altar was

[1] This sentence is not in the first edition of the Cosmography.

[1627] the very body and blood of Christ, refused to eat thereof, because it was Friday." And so far the good geographer, who hath pleasantly and truly described them.

21. But now we must come to him as a divine, wherein he acted his part as well as of a cosmographer, when he was called unto the Divinity School to dispute in his turn, according to the Statutes of the University. On April 18th, A.D. 1627, he comes up as opponent, and on Tuesday the 24th following he answered, *pro forma*, upon these two questions—

An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis? 106

An Ecclesia possit errare?

Both which he determined in the negative. Upon occasional discourse with him at Abingdon, he was pleased once to shew me his supposition, which I read over in his house at Lacye's Court; but I had not then either the leisure or good luck to transcribe a copy of it, which would have been worth my pains, and more worthy of the press, to the great satisfaction of others. For my part, I can truly say that I never read any thing with more pleasure and heart-delight, for good Latin, reason, and history, which that exercise was full of; but since, both it and many other choice papers in his study (through the carelessness of those to whose custody they were committed, I suppose) are utterly lost and gone, *ad blattarum et tinearum epulas*[1].

22. In stating of the first question, that caused the heats of that day, he tells us himself[2]—"I fell upon a different way from that of Doctor Prideaux[3], the Pro-

[1] "Cui stragula vestis,
Blattarum et tinearum epulæ, putrescat in arca."
Horat. Sat. II. iii. 118-9.

[2] Examen Historicum, Pt. ii. Append. [214, seqq.] *A.*

[3] John Prideaux, born 1578, rector of Exeter College, 1615, Regius Professor of Divinity, 1615, Bishop of Worcester, 1641. After suffering

107 fessor, in his Lecture *De Visibilitate Ecclesiæ*, and other [1627]
tractates of and about that time, in which the visibility of the Protestant Church, (and consequently of the renowned Church of England), was no otherwise proved, than by looking for it in the scattered conventicles of the Berengarians in Italy, the Waldenses in France, the Wicklifists[1] in England, and the Hussites in Bohemia. Which manner of proceeding not being liked by the respondent, as that which utterly discontinued that succession of the hierarchy which the Church of England claims from the very Apostles and their immediate successors,—he rather chose to find out[2] a continual visible Church in Asia, Ethiopia, Greece, Italy, yea Rome itself, as also in all the western provinces then subject to the power of the Roman Bishop, when he was the chief Patriarch[3]." Which Mr Heylyn, from his great knowledge and more than ordinary abilities in history, strenuously asserted and proved; to which the Professor could make but weak replies, (as I have heard from some knowing persons who were present at that
108 disputation), because he was drawn out of his ordinary bias, from scholastical disputation to foreign histories: in which encounter Mr Heylyn was the invincible Ajax—

Nec quisquam Ajacem possit superare nisi Ajax[4].

But chiefly the quarrel did arise for two words in Mr Heylyn's hypothesis, after he had proved the Church of England received no succession of doctrine or government from the Berengarians, Wicklifists, &c., who

great poverty and hardships for his loyalty, he died in 1650.—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 266-9.

[1] So Exam. Histor.; "Wickliffs," Barn. here and below.

[2] Exam. Hist. "to look for."

[3] Exam. Hist. "then subject to the power of the Popes thereof."

[4] Ovid. Metam. xiii. 389. "*ne* quisquam," &c.; Barn. "superare possit."

[1627] held many heterodoxes in religion, as different from the established doctrine of our Church as any point[1] that was maintained at that time in the Church of Rome: that the writers of that Church, [and][2] Bellarmine himself [amongst them][2] hath stood up as cordially in maintenance of some fundamental points of the Christian faith against Anti-trinitarians, Anabaptists, and other heretics of these last ages, as any of the divines[3] and other learned men of the Protestant Churches; which point Mr Heylyn closed up with these words: *Utinam* (*quod ipse de Calvino*[4],) *sic semper errasset nobilissimus Cardinalis.* At which words the reverend Doctor was so impatient in his chair, that he fell upon the respondent in most vile terms[5], calling him *Papicola, Bellarminianus, Pontificius,* &c., to draw the hatred of the University upon him, according to the saying, *Fortiter calumniare et aliquid adhærebit:* grievously complaining to the younger sort of his auditors, unto whom he made his chiefest addresses, of the unprofitable pains he took among them, if Bellarmine, whom he had laboured to confute for so many years, should [now][2] be honoured with the title of *nobilissimus*[6]. 109

[1] So Exam. Hist.; "Points," Barn.

[2] Inserted from Exam. Hist.

[3] Barn. "as any one Divine."

[4] It was on the subject of the Trinity that Bellarmine is said to have pronounced this commendation (which the editor has not found in his works.)—Exam. Hist. ii. 40.

[5] Not, however, until after "the Respondent had ended his determination."—Exam. Hist.

[6] The part of this narrative which is not marked as a quotation from the Examen Historicum is abridged from that work; where Heylyn adds—"The like he also did—(Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ? [Virg. Æn. i. 11.])—at another time, when the Respondent changed his copy and became Prior Opponent, loading the poor young man with so many reproaches, that he was branded for a papist before he understood what Popery was." "On the 5th of August following," says Wood, "being Sunday, Mr Edw. Reynolds [afterwards Bishop of

23. Notwithstanding the respondent acquitted him- [1627]
self most bravely before all the company, ascribing no more honour to Bellarmine than for his deserts in learning, and integrity in that particular point before spoken of; which any generous man would give to his learned antagonist. For many Lutherans and Calvinists, I may say, (*pace tanti viri*), so angry at a word, have not grudged, much less judged it any crime, to praise the Cardinal's learning. *Doctrinam et nos in ipso commendamus*[1], saith a rigid Lutheran, and St Paul himself would not stick to call him who was an inveterate enemy of the Christians, "most noble Festus[2]."
110 And though Cardinals, we know, were originally but parish Priests, by pride and usurpation have made themselves compeers to Kings, that which is unjustly once obtained by time groweth common and familiar, that none will refuse to give such their ordinary titles of honour, although they come by indirect means and not by merit to them. Bellarmine also was of no poor and base extraction, but better than his fellows; for which reason he was created Cardinal by Clement the Eighth. *Hunc eligimus* (saith he) *quia est nepos optimi et sanctissimi Pontificis*[3], because he was the nephew of Marcellus the Second, who said that he could not see how any one could be saved who sat in the pon-

Norwich] preaching to the University in the Chapel of Merton Coll. (of which he was fellow) touched upon the passages which had happened between Prideaux and Heylyn, impertinently to his text, but pertinently enough to his purpose, which was to expose Heylyn to disgrace and censure. But so it was, that, though he was then present, yet it did little trouble him, as he himself acknowledgeth."—Ath. Oxon. iii. 553.

[1] Quensted. Dialog. de Patriis Illustr. Virorum, [328, ed. Witteb. 1691.] *A.*

[2] Acts xxvi. 25.

[3] ["Quia non habet parem Ecclesia Dei quoad doctrinam, et quia," &c.] Quensted. 327. *A.*

[1627–8] tifical chair—*Non video quomodo qui locum hunc altissimum tenent, salvari possunt*[1].

24. After those heats of disputation were over, Mr Heylyn took a journey to London[2], where he waited on Bishop Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had heard of all the passages that had happened at Oxford. Of which Mr Heylyn gave a more perfect account to his Lordship, who was pleased to read over the supposition at which Dr Prideaux was so highly 111
offended: but the good Bishop, on the other side, commended it, and encouraged Mr Heylyn in his studies—"saying that he himself had in his younger days maintained the same positions in a disputation in St John's College[3]; that Mr Heylyn's hypothesis could not be overthrown in a fair way: exhorting him to continue in that moderate course; and that, as God had given him more than ordinary gifts, so he would pray to God, that he and others might employ them in such a way and manner as might make up the breaches in the walls of Christendom[4]." Mr Heylyn,

[1] Onuphr. [ap. Platin. de Vitis Pontif. 430.] *A.*

[2] The interval was longer than the text might lead us to suppose, the disputations having taken place in April 1627, while the interview with Laud was in the following February.

[3] "For which he was much blamed by Archbishop Abbot, then Vicechancellor, and made a by-word and reproach in the University." —Vern. 29. Comp. Cypr. Angl. 53-4.

[4] ["On Tuesday, the fifth of February, he strained the back sinew of his right leg, as he went with his Majesty to Hampton Court, which kept him to his chamber till the 14th of the same; during which time of his keeping in, I had both the happiness of being taken into his special knowledge of me, and the opportunity of a longer conference with him than I could otherwise have expected. I went to have presented my service to him as he was preparing for this journey, and was appointed to attend him on the same day sevennight, when I might presume on his return. Coming precisely at the time, I heard of his mischance, and that he kept himself in his chamber; but order had been left with the servants, that if I came he should be made acquainted with it; which being done accordingly, I was brought into his chamber, where I found him sitting in a chair, with his lame leg

to clear himself from the suspicion of popery, which [1628]
Dr Prideaux had most unjustly branded him with, in November next following preached before the King on those words, John iv. ver. 20: "Our fathers worshipped on this mountain[1]," &c. In which sermon he declared himself with such smart zeal and with as quick judgment against several errors and corruptions in the Church of Rome, that his sermon was otherwise resented by the King and court than his supposition by the King's Professor at Oxon.

112 And when that clamour was revived again by his enemies, that he had some inclinations to the Romish religion, he gave such satisfaction in his third and fourth sermon preached at Whitehall, in the year 1638, upon the Parable of the Tares, on these words, Matt. xiii. ver. 26, *Tunc apparuerunt zizania*, ("Then appeared the tares also"), that some of the court did not stick to say that he had done more towards the subversion of popery in those two sermons than Dr Prideaux had done in all the sermons which he had ever preached in his life[2]. For that Doctor was a

resting on a pillow. Commanding that nobody should come to interrupt him till he called for them, he caused me to sit down by him, inquired first into the course of my studies, which he well approved of, exhorting me to hold myself in that moderate course in which he found me. He fell afterwards to discourse of some passages in Oxon in which I was specially concerned, and told me thereupon the story of such oppositions as had been made against him in that University by Archbishop Abbot and some others; encouraged me not to shrink, if I had already or should hereafter find the like. I was with him thus, *remotis arbitris*, almost two hours: it grew towards twelve of the clock, and then he knocked for his servants to come unto him. He dined that day in his ordinary dining-room, which was the first time he had so done since his mishap. He caused me to tarry dinner with him, and used me with no small respect, which was much noted by some gentlemen who dined that day with him."]—Cypr. Angl. 166. [=175-6.] *A*.

[1] Exam. Hist. ii. Append. 215.

[2] Ibid. Comp. Certamen Epistolare, 141; Pref. to the Sermons on the Tares, ed. 1659.

[1628] better disputant than a preacher, and, to give him his due, a right learned man in his place of Regius Professor; yet withal so dogmatical in his own points, that he would not abide to be touched, much less contradicted by Mr Heylyn—

> Non aliam ob causam, nisi quod virtus in utroque,
> Summa fuit[1]....

More especially being a great man, at that time very popular in the University, profoundly admired by the junior masters, and some of the seniors inclined to Puritanism; his own College then observed to be (*communis pestis adolescentum*[2]) the common nursery of west- 113
country-men in Puritan principles, so that Mr Heylyn could expect no favour nor fair dealing in the way of his disputation, when it ran contrary to the Professor's humour.

25. After these academical contests, growing weary of *obs.* and *sols.* in scholastical disputations, which was ever opposite to his genius, and for this purpose being unwilling to be always cloistered up within the walls of a College, where he must be tied to such exercises; —besides, a man of an airy and active spirit, (though studious and contemplative,) would not be perpetually devoted to a melancholy recluse life:—also emulation and envy, the two inseparable evils that accompany learned men in the same society, hath frequently stirred up animosities and factions among them, that I have known some ingenious persons for this reason have been wearied out of a collegiate life;—resolved therefore he was to marry, and alter the condition of his life, which he thought would prove more agreeable to the content and satisfaction of his mind;—(*Neque aliud*

[1] Horat. Sat. I. vii. 14-15.

[2] "Pernicies communis adolescentium,
Perjurus, pestis."
Terent. Adelph. II. i. 34-5.

114 *probis quam ex matrimonio solatium esse*[1], saith the good [1628]
author, "because marriage is the only comfort of minds honestly given.") Accordingly a fair fortune was offered to him, a wife with a thousand pounds portion, and a gentlewoman of a very ancient family and of as excellent education, Mrs Letitia High-gate[2], third daughter of Thomas High-gate of Heyes, Esq., one of his Majesty's justices of peace for the county of Middlesex, (who in his younger days, whilst his elder brother was alive, had been Provost-Marshal-General of the army under the Earl of Essex at the action of Cales[3]), and of Margery Skipwith his wife, one of the daughters of that ancient family of the Skipwiths in the county of Leicester, of which family still there is a worthy person living, Sir Thomas Skipwith, Knight, a learned Serjeant in the Law. Which said Thomas High-gate, the father before mentioned, was second son of that Thomas High-gate who was Field-Marshal-General of the English forces before St Quintine, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, anno Dom. 1557[4], and of Elizabeth Stoner his
115 wife, a daughter of the ancient family of the Stoners in the county of Oxon[5].

26. To this young gentlewoman, Mrs Letitia High-gate aforesaid, Mr Heylyn was no stranger; for his elder brother, Mr Edward Heylyn, had married some years before her eldest sister. His seat was at Minster Lovel in Oxfordshire, where his son (to whom Dr

1 Tacit. [Ann.] iv. [53.] *A.*

2 Vernon writes the name *Heygate;* the folio, in both ways.

3 The expedition to Cadiz was in 1596.—Hume, v. 334.

4 See the History of the Reformation, Mary, v. 1.

5 Vernon gives the same account of Mrs Heylyn's pedigree, and adds, "These particulars are set down by our learned Doctor in his little manuscript, to this end—'That [his] posterity might know from what roots they sprang, and not engage in anything unworthy their extraction.'"—33-4.

[1628] Heylyn was uncle) now liveth, viz. Henry Heylyn, Esq., justice of peace for the county of Oxon, an ancient colonel, and an excellent commander in the army of King Charles the First, and a most accomplished gentleman in all respects, to the honour of his family[1]. Another of the sisters of Mrs Letitia High-gate married Robert Tirwhit, Esq., one of the ancient family of the Tirwhits in the county of Lincoln, Master of the Buckhounds in the reign of King Charles the First, a place of honour and of great revenue. Finally, to the honour of that family, Sir Henry Bard of Staues, Knight, who afterward was created Viscount Lord Bellamount, did marry the daughter of Sir William Gardiner, whose Lady and Mrs Letitia High-gate were sisters' children. That unfortunate Lord, (who is mentioned in the 116
Marquess of Worcester's Apophthegms[2] for a brave commander, and governor of Camden House in the time of war,) did attend his sacred Majesty all the time of his exile, until the treaty at Breda, when he was sent, (as I have heard), on some ambassage into the Eastern Countries, where, travelling in *Arabia Deserta*, for want of a skilful guide, [he] was swallowed up in the gulf of sands. These were the relations, and many others of quality, (which I forbear to mention), of Mrs Letitia High-gate. And whereas the late writer disparages the young gentlewoman, that her portion was never paid[3], I am sure he has done her that wrong which he can never recompense; for her elder brother did both pay her and the other sisters'

[1] To this gentleman, in conjunction with Dr Heylyn's son of the same name, Vernon's work was dedicated.

[2] "Witty Apophthegms of K. James, K. Charles, the Marquis of Worcester," &c. Lond. 1658, pp. 28-9. Clarendon notices Sir H. Bard unfavourably, styling him "the licentious governor" of Camden House. —551.

[3] Vernon, 34.

portions, who were all married to persons of quality; [1628]
himself had an estate left him by his father to the value of £800. per annum; he married an heiress, whose fortune added to his estate, on which they lived nobly for many years, before he fell into losses and misfortunes, caused by his own extravagant pleasures, and chiefly of gaming at dice and cards[1],

117 Quem damnosa Venus, quem præceps alea nudat[2].

To the said Letitia High-gate Mr Heylyn was an earnest suitor. For indeed he could not make a better choice, for the excellency of her person, wit, and friends, all concentering together for his more happy contentment; she being also a discreet, religious young lady, which is a blessing to a Clergyman. His courtship of her was not after a romantic manner, nor as a gallant of the times, but like a scholar and a divine, as appears by a copy of verses written upon a rich gilded Bible which he presented to her; and the verses are as followeth—

Could this outside beholden be
To cost and cunning equally;
Or were it such as might suffice
The luxury of curious eyes;
Yet would I have my dearest look,
Not on the cover, but the book.

If thou art merry, here are airs;
If melancholy, here are prayers;
If studious, here are those things writ
Which may deserve thy ablest wit;
If hungry, here is food divine;
118 If thirsty, nectar, heavenly wine.

Read then, but first thyself prepare
To read with zeal, and mark with care;

[1] Vernon states that "many irreparable losses and misfortunes happened to her eldest brother, which he was not able to recover;" but he does not give the unfriendly explanation as to the cause.—34.

[2] Hor. Ep. I. 18. 21.

[1628]

And when thou read'st what here is writ,
Let thy best practice second it;
So twice each precept read shall be,
First in the book, and next in thee.

Much reading may thy spirits wrong;
Refresh them therefore with a song;
And that thy music praise may merit,
Sing David's Psalms with David's spirit;
That as thy voice do pierce men's ears,
So shall thy prayer and vows the spheres.

Thus read, thus sing, and then to thee
The very earth a heaven shall be;
If thus thou readest, thou shalt find,
A private heaven within thy mind;
And singing thus before thou die,
Thou sing'st thy part to those on high.

27. The verses with the Bible were most affectionately received by her, as the best tokens of love that could be given, to lay the foundation of a future 119
happiness betwixt them, that was now begun so religiously with the book of God, which they both intended to make the rule of their life and love. Soon after the solemnization of marriage followed, by the consent of friends on both parties; in the presence of whom and other witnesses they were married by Dr Allibone[1] his faithful friend, upon the festival day of St Simon and St Jude, in Magdalen College Chapel, where he was Fellow[2], but now the husband of a good wife; of whom we may say as the poet,

Felices [ter et amplius]
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis

[1] John Allibond, of Magdalene College, master of the free-school adjoining the College, "a most excellent Latin poet and philologist," D.D. 1643, rector of Bradwell, Gloucestershire, (see below, §. 28,) died 1658.—Wood, Fasti, ii. 69.

[2] Hickman thirty years afterwards (1658-9) in writing against Heylyn, put the question—"whether he that is married, and carrieth it so clancularly that the house can make no just proof of it, be not bound to restore all the benefits that he received from his place after his

Divulsus querimoniis
Suprema citius solvet [amor] die[1].

Most happy is the marriage-tie,
Where love abideth constantly;
No sad complaints or cries, whilst breath
Remains, but true love unto death.

28. At his marriage with this virtuous gentlewoman, he had a good estate of his own, besides her

half year is expired?" Heylyn thus notices the subject—"This reflects on me, who held my fellowship above a twelvemonth more than his allowance. But, first, it was no clandestine or clancular marriage, but carried openly enough. The College-chapel was set out, by my appointment, with its richest ornaments. The marriage was performed on St Simon's and Jude's day, between ten and eleven of the clock in the morning, and in the presence of a sufficient number of witnesses of both sexes, according both to law and practice.

"The wedding-dinner kept in my own chamber; some doctors and their wives, and five or six of the Society invited to it. My wife placed at the head of the table, and by me publicly desired to make much of the company; the town-music playing, and myself waiting at the table the most part of the dinner; no old formality wanting, to my best remembrance, which was accustomably required (even to the very giving of gloves) at a solemn wedding.

"No *clancular carriage* in all this, no deceit put upon the college, and therefore no necessity of a restitution; the college saving my diet, the fellows getting my minor dividends for the greatest part of the time till I left the house."—Certam. Epistol. 136-7.

Vernon is very unfairly treated in the affair of the marriage. Dr Barnard, as has been said, (p. xxvii) first charges him with enmity to the memory of Heylyn because he had mentioned the imputation of secrecy; and then proceeds to confute his vindication!—not adverting to the fact that the vindication and denial were really Heylyn's own, Vernon having merely changed the form of the narration from the first to the third person. "Concerning his marriage," says our biographer, "though he was my father-in-law, I cannot excuse it from being clandestine, much less justify the contrary—(as the author does boldly)—against a general known truth, believed by every one in the University, affirmed by all, and not denied by the Doctor himself. [!] I have reason to know it above others, because this was wrongfully charged upon me by Doctor Hood of Lincoln College, as if I had intended to have done the like, when I desired to hold my fellowship a longer time than the year of grace; which had been granted to others, particular to Mr Cross, Rector of Great Chue, in Somerset-

[1] Horat. Carm. I. xiii. 17-20. The 12mo. reads *divulsis*.

portion, to begin the world with; for he had a rent 129
charge of inheritance paid him out of the manor of

shire, but denied to me for this reason, which the Rector alleged against me, saying, 'You are to marry Doctor Heylyn's daughter (we hear), and you will do as he did.'—The good man then forgeting himself that one of his own daughters was married to a Fellow of Lincoln College; the marriage was kept private, and the profit of the fellowship received by his son-in-law, who shall be nameless. It is more ingenious to confess an error, than make a weak defence or apology for it, that does rather aggravate than extenuate the crime. While the author sweats to prove the Doctor's marriage was not clancular, because 'he ordered it to be performed upon St Simon and St Jude's day, &c.' [the account already quoted, with Vernon's alteration to the third person]...yet all this while it was a marriage clancularly, a marriage in masquerade, a marriage incognito to the College, because the President and Fellows neither knew nor believed there was a true solemnization of marriage in their chapel; and though some of them were invited to the wedding-dinner, they took the invitation to a merriment, and not to a marriage. Indeed it was not clandestine against the laws of our Church and realm, because the usual ceremonies and formalities of both were performed in the solemnization betwixt the parties: but such marriage was expressly against the laws and statutes of the College founder; and much more for a married fellow to keep his fellowship after. He is an absurd writer that will start into circumstances, and not prove the main matter which is controverted.

"But what mattereth it or availeth, whether the Doctor's marriage was clandestine or no? was he only the first example of this kind in the University? was not this done in his youthful days? *In amore hæc insunt vitia.* Aristotle will excuse a young man's faults, that cannot be so happy either in his judgment or practice as his elders, *οὐδὲ παῖς εὐδαίμων ἐστίν, οὔπω γὰρ πρακτικὸς τῶν τοιούτων διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν.*—(Arist. Eth. i. 9).

"How many breakers are there of College statutes besides Doctor Heylyn? I believe very few fellows, but they are faulty in some kind or other. Yet I will not go about to accuse or condemn them, nor apologise for him further than the rule of rhetoric will allow, and that is, *Quod negari non queat, responsione jocularí eludas, et rem facias risu magis dignam quam crimine*—that which cannot really be denied must be put off with a jest; and so it will seem a laughing matter rather than a crime, for which we have the example of Cicero, when he was accused about money. And so it was the Doctor's case about matrimony; the whole affair and management of it was a most pleasant humour, which he was resolved to carry on dramatically under a disguise, and yet the same was real—'Mrs Bride placed at the head of the table, the town-music playing, himself waiting most part of the

Lechlade[1] in the county of Glocester, and the advow- [1628]
son of Bradwel[2] living near Lechlade, both which were left him by his father, as a competent portion for a younger brother; but he wisely parted with the Advowson, resolving not to bury his parts in a country parish; where if he had been once settled, possibly his fortune might have proved like other men's, never to have been master of more lands or goods than the tithe or glebe of his own parsonage. Therefore he took the first opportunity offered to him as a more probable means of his future preferment; and that was to attend the right honourable the Earl of Danby[3] to the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, (of which afterward he writ a description). And for this good service[4] he so much endeared himself to his Lordship, who took

dinner, and no formality wanting,'—all which circumstances were contrived fallacies, and yet most undeniably truths. Notwithstanding, the writer of his life is most grievously offended with any one that is not of his opinion about the Doctor's marriage, and the College dividend which he received betwixt that time and the resignation of his Fellowship.... I think still it was a clandestine marriage, and the Doctor was after bound to restore all emoluments from that time; but the College did easily forgive him, and in testimony of their love and extraordinary respect, many years after his marriage, did accommodate him for some time of the war with convenient lodgings for himself, wife, and family, when they were driven out of all house and harbour from his two livings, Alsford and Southwarnborough." (pp. 17-21). Barnard then goes on to censure Vernon for some reflections on the President and Fellows of the College—again overlooking the circumstance that Heylyn (Cert. Epist. 137) was the real author of the passage in question. As to his later relations with the College, and his residence in it during the war, see Heyl. Postscr. to *Hist. Quinquartic.* Tracts, 634—7.

[1] The 12mo. sometimes spells this name *Lech-led.*

[2] Or Broadwell.

[3] The same who has already been mentioned (p. XLVII) under the title of Lord Danvers, as befriending Heylyn in the matter of King James and the Geography. He was governor of Jersey and Guernsey. —Wood, Ath. iii. 554.

[4] Vernon states that Lord Danby's "own chaplains modestly refused a voyage which they conceived to be troublesome and dangerous."—35.

great notice of his extraordinary merits, that at their return back, the noble Lord commended him, not only to some Lords in court, but presented him to Archbishop Laud, then Bishop of London, who had cast a singular eye of favour upon him before[1]; but 121
now, reminded by the Earl, he presently got him admitted Chaplain to the King[2]; knowing that step to preferment would carry him on further, because the rise of the Clergy is either from the press or the pulpit, in both which Mr Heylyn was exercised. The good Bishop instructed him with counsel and wise cautions, how to behave himself in all circumstances suitable to the calling and dignity of his place; telling him amongst other things, that "the King did not love silk nor satin Chaplains;" which Mr Heylyn ever observed, both young and old, never ruffling in silks like some of his brotherhood, but went alway in a plain, grave, and decent habit.

29. In humble gratitude to the Earl his original patron, who first recommended him to the Bishop, and afterward brought him to the honour of acquaintance with noblemen, among whom he found such a general love and respect that their Lordships would often call him to a familiar conversation with them, by which

[1] Sup. p. LVIII.

[2] Vernon states that the Bishop "making a second and more narrow inquiry into his temporal concerns, appointed him to meet him [at] court, which not long after was to remove to Woodstock. But his lordship fell sick at Reading; and Mr Heylyn met with some rude usages in the King's chapel, which was talked of the more at Oxon, the interest he had at court being universally known in that university. But it was not very many months after, that power was given him to revenge the affront, being admitted chaplain in ordinary to the King," &c.—35-6. Laud, when charged with having preferred Heylyn, among other "popishly-affected" persons, replied "He is known to be a learned and an able man; but for his preferment, both to be his majesty's chaplain and for that which he got in that service, he owes it, under God, to the memory of the Earl of Danby." Troubles, 367—8, Lond. 1695.

means Mr Heylyn acquired more than an ordinary in- [1630]
122 terest in court—he could not study out a more ingenious way to please and oblige all their Lordships than the vindication of the most noble order of the Garter[1], and that by writing his "History of the famous Saint and Soldier of Christ Jesus, St George of Cappadocia[2]." Which work he performed so admirably well, for history, learning, and language—all these not vulgar, but incomparable in their kind—that I would fain see the fellow that can second it; especially considering that never any one before Mr Heylyn durst attempt the work, by reason of the many difficulties occurring in story. But what could resist the author's ingenuity and industry, who had *importunum ingenium*, a restless working head, and a mind indefatigable for study?

Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor[3].

So various and perplexed are the infinite stories that go of this Saint, that one would think it were an impossible thing to find out the truth. Great care was taken by Anterus, Bishop of Rome, anno Dom. 236[4], (who was a martyr himself), to preserve the memory of the Christian martyrs, by causing all their acts and
123 passions to be written by public notaries, and afterwards laid up in the register of the Church, as Platina[5] tells us; and we find in Gregory's Epistles[6], that in the ancient martyrologies the time of their death and place where they suffered is described, but not the

[1] Lord Danby, however, does not appear to have been a Knight of the order—as his name does not occur in Heylyn's list of the members.

[2] "The studying and writing whereof took up all the spring-time of 1630."—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 554.

[3] Horat. [Carm. I. iii. 36.] *A.*

[4] Barn. "238." But Anterus became Bishop in 236, and was martyred the following year.—Platina, 30-1.

[5] "Anterus statuit primus ut omnes res gestæ martyrum a notariis scriberentur; conscriptas recondi in ærario Ecclesiæ mandavit."—Platin. [p. 31.] *A.*

[6] vii. 29. [Opp. t. ii. 917, Basil. 1564.] *A.*

[1630—1] circumstance and manner of their deaths: whereby hath risen so many fables and incredible stories, especially of St George, which the monks of old hath filled their legends with. And on the other side, some, because they would be contradictory to them, do run into another extreme of things, not regarding whether they are true or false: they stigmatize St George with all the reproaches imaginable, making him not a Saint but a devil, at the best the bloody George of Alexandria, who was a butcher rather than a Bishop, that caused the slaughter of so many poor Christians for being orthodox and not Arians. More kind and favourable are they that condemn him for a fiction, a mere chimera and *non entity*[1], and "will allow him no place," as the historian saith, "on earth, in heaven, nor hell itself[2]."

30. From all which slanderous accusations of the one side, and from the foppish superstitions and forge- 124
ries of the other, Mr Heylyn hath redeemed St George's honour and reputation; proving by undeniable authorities that St George was a blessed and glorious martyr for Christ, so believed and owned in all Christian nations, a canonized Saint through Christendom, the patron both of our English nation anciently deemed, and of the most honourable order of knighthood in the world. The History was at first presented to his Majesty by the author, and afterwards to the Knights

[1] "In the prosecution of which argument, he was encountered with two contrary opinions—the one of them headed by M. Calvin, who made St George to be a fiction, a *non-ens*, a mere chimera; the other set up by Dr Reynolds, who made him to be the very same with George the Arian, once Patriarch of Alexandria, a bloody tyrant, and a great persecutor of the orthodox Christians."—Heylyn, Append. to Exam. Hist. ii. 220.

[2] ["Whom some have so far quarrelled, as either not to grant him, heretofore, a being on the earth; or now, an habitation only with the fiends in hell."]—Epist. Dedicat. *A*. [The passage occurs in the first edition only of the Hist. of St George.]

of the noble Order; by his Majesty it was most graciously accepted, and by the nobility highly praised[1]. Notwithstanding Dr Hackwel[2], the intimate friend of Dr Prideaux, for whose sake, to revenge the old quarrel, appeared against the author, and treated him "neither with that ingenuity which became a scholar, nor that [1631]

[1] "Who all used him with respect suitable to his merits, except the Earl of E., who called him 'a begging scholar;' of which words he was afterwards very much ashamed, when the incivility, unbecoming a nobleman and courtier, came to the knowledge of those that were of his own quality."—Vernon, 38. Barnard censures Vernon for relating this.—(Necessary Vindication, p. 17, and post, §. ci.) In the former place, he names the Earl of Derby, (William Stanley, sixth Earl, K.G. 1601-1642), as the nobleman by whom the offensive term was used; in the other, he agrees with Vernon in styling him "the Earl of E.," which must mean William Cecil, second Earl of Exeter, K.G. 1630-1640. Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 558, says that Heylyn "was used by all [the eminent persons to whom he presented his book] with great respect, save only by Archbishop Abbot and William Earl of Exeter; the first of which disliked the argument, and the other snapped him up for a begging scholar." Heylyn himself gives in his Certamen Epistolare (329-330) some particulars as to the presentation of his History of St George. "But he [Fuller] goes on and charges me with addressing my History of St George by several letters to the Earls of Danby, Lindsey, &c. and it is fit that he should have an answer to that charge also. And therefore be he pleased to know, that when I first came to the King's service, I was very young, a stranger, and unpractised in the ways of the court, and therefore thought it necessary to make myself known to the great Lords about his Majesty, by writing that History. Having presented it to three or four of the Lords, which were of the order of the Garter, the Earl of Rutland would needs force upon me the taking of two twenty-shilling pieces in gold. The sense and shame whereof did so discompose me, that afterwards I never gave any of them with my own hands, but only to the Earl of Somerset," [the notorious Carr] "whom I had a great desire to see, and from whose condition I could promise myself to come off with freedom; but afterwards addressed them with several letters, by some one or other of my servants; *with whom I hope my adversary will not think that I parted stakes, as some country madams are affirmed to do in the butler's box.*"

[2] George Hakewill, D.D. Archdeacon of Surrey and Fellow of Exeter College, succeeded to the headship on the promotion of Prideaux to the bishoprick of Worcester, and died 1649, aged 72. He had been chaplain to Charles I., when Prince of Wales, and had been dismissed for his opposition to the Spanish match.—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 253-7. Comp. Heyl. Certam. Epist. 370-1.

[1632—3] charity as becomes a Christian[1]." The King, hearing of Dr Hackwel's sharp reply to this History of St George, sent for Mr Heylyn, commanding him to consider the arguments of his adversary, and for this purpose to go to Windsor, and there search into the records of the Order. But there was little need for 125
that, because all Dr Hackwel's arguments and allegations were *idem per idem*, the very same repeated over, which Mr Pryn had before laid down in his book called *Histriomastix*[2]: which occasioned a second edition of Mr Heylyn's History, wherein he answered the arguments of both his antagonists; who never troubled him more upon that point; and Dr Hackwel, for his part, in the next edition of his book about the Decay of Nature[3], made an ingenious[4] retractation of the passages relating to St George[5]. Which blessed Saint and

[1] Heyl. Append. to Exam. Hist. [ii. 221.] *A*. Hakewill's attack was made in consequence of some reference to him in the first edition of the "History." Heylyn tells us that the work was handed about in MS., and that he, having seen it in that form, replied to it without naming the writer. Wood (iii. 558) states that "His Majesty received notice of [Hakewill's Essay] from Laud, who had a copy of it sent to him from Oxon, by Dr W. Smith, the Vicechancellor, and he from Hakewill, to be approved before it was to go to the press." By Heylyn's replying beforehand—and possibly by difficulties as to licensing—the publication seems to have been prevented.

[2] Exam. Hist. ii. 221. The *Histriomastix* was published in 1632.

[3] "An Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World: consisting in an examination and censure of the common error touching Nature's perpetual and universal Decay."

[4] Sic.

[5] The editor has not observed anything on the subject in the third edition of the "Apology," 1635, except a tacit omission (p. 8) of the passage in which Hakewill had stated (2nd ed. p. 7), according to Reynolds' view, that St George was "both a wicked man and an Arian." "However it is plain that he was far from being entirely reconciled to Heylyn's book; for though he made no formal reply to what concerned him in the second impression of it, he, about the same time, acquainted his friends what were his sentiments thereof, in several letters; in one of which he writes thus: 'In the second impression of this book, where he hath occasion to speak of the Roman writers, he magnifies them

Martyr Mr Heylyn the more zealously defended with his pen, not only for the reasons before mentioned, but from a particular obligation wherewith he thought himself bound above others to prosecute the History; because several churches being dedicated to the honour of God by St George's name, particularly St George's church at Burford, "where it pleased God," saith he, "to give me first my natural being and afterward my education, in which regard I hold myself bound in a
126 manner to vindicate St George his honour [having received such comforts in a place] where his memory was anciently precious, and the only church in it dedicated by his name[1]." Finally the memory of this Saint shines in our calendar, prefixed before the public Liturgy of the Church of England, where he is specially honoured with the name of *Saint*, as is not any of the rest excepting those which saw our Saviour in the flesh[2].

Let me finally add what the author of the "Present State of England," in honour of St George, hath written:—"The greatest monarchs," saith he, "of Christendom have been enrolled, and have taken it for an honour to be of this Order[3]: a Saint so universally received in all parts of Christendom, so generally at-

more, and when he mentions our men, he vilifies them more, than he did in his first edition. But the matter is not much what he saith of one or the other—the condition of the man being such as his word hardly passeth either for commendation or a slander.'"—Biogr. Brit. iv. 2596, citing Sanderson's "Post-haste," p. 13, from which the same passage is quoted by Heylyn, Exam. Hist. ii. 219.

[1] Hist. of St George. [ed. 1, p. 288.] *A*. [In the second edition, in mentioning churches dedicated to St George, Heylyn names Burford, but says no more than "where it pleased God to give me both my birth and education."—295.]

[2] "As is no other, not being either an apostle or evangelist, but Saint Martin only."—Hist. of St George, ed. 2, p. 308. The title was prefixed to other names at the last review of the Prayer-book.

[3] [Chamberlayne's] Angliæ Notitia, cap. xix. *A*. [p. 427, ed. 3, 1669.]

[1630—1] tested by the ecclesiastical writers of all ages from the time of his martyrdom to this day, that no one Saint in all the calendar (except those attested by Scripture) is better vindicated[1]."

31. The publishing of this History met with that general good entertainment, for the rarity of its subject, that a gentleman of quality, one Mr Bridges, out of a real respect and love to the author's learning, presented him to the parsonage of Meysie Hampton, 127
in Gloucestershire; to which if things had happened successfully, Mr Heylyn had then been successor to the Reverend Sebastian [Benefield[2]], D.D., Rector of that living, and Margaret Professor in the University of Oxon. But, contrary to his Patron's and his own expectation, it proved a living of most litigious title, from whence followed a chargeable suit in law[3], occasioned by Bishop Goodman, the worst of all his predecessors that sat in the see of Gloucester[4]; who outwardly pretended great kindness to Mr Heylyn, for his learning's sake, but (like the Fox in the fable, when he praised the Crow's singing) to get the meat out of his mouth: for, after he had persuaded Mr Heylyn to leave his presentation in his hands, and enter a *caveat* in his court, and promising that he would grant

[1] Ibid. p. 424. The last words of the sentence (in the edition referred to) are, "be better evidenced."

[2] Ed. "Sebastine,"—omitting the surname. He was Margaret Professor from 1613 to 1626, and died in 1630.—Le Neve, Fasti, 475; Wood, Ath. Oxon. ii. 487.

[3] "By reason of the absence of many of the jury, and the supply of *Tales*, (who attended upon the trial as watermen wait for a fare,) together with the tergiversation, or rather treachery, of one of his counsel, upon whose wisdom and integrity the client most relied, the cause went against him; though affirmed by all standers-by, and by the counsel himself, the night immediately preceding the trial, to be as fair and just an action as ever was brought to bar."—Vernon, 40.

[4] Godfrey Goodman, consecrated 1624-5, died 1655-6.—Richardson, in Godwin, 554.

no institution to any person till the title was cleared, his Lordship immediately after gave institution to another, (who was his friend), one Mr Jackson, who was presented by Corpus Christi College, in Oxon, that pretended the right of patronage and presentation to
128 that parsonage[1]. And no wonder Mr Heylyn found such base dealing, when this spiritual father so prevaricated with his mother, the Church of England, from which he apostatized most shamefully. No doubt he was a Jesuite *in voto*, or "had a Pope in his belly[2]," before he crept into the bishoprick. His Lordship's hypocrisy was detected in a sermon afterwards preached, for which he was not only questioned, but sentenced to a recantation before the King[3]. But much more scandal he gave at the time of his death, "a scandal so unseasonably and untimely [given]," saith Dr Heylyn[4], "as if the devil himself had watched an opportunity to despite this Church. And though[5] some [men] have gladly cherished this occasion to draw the rest of the[6] prelates

[1] The college has now the patronage.

[2] Luther's Tabletalk.

[3] "On the fifth Sunday in Lent [1626-7] Goodman, then Bishop of Gloucester, preached before his Majesty, and pressed so hard upon the point of the Real Presence, that he was supposed to trench too near the borders of popery, which raised a great clamour, both in court and country: the matter of which sermon was agitated *pro* and *con.* in the convocation, March 29, without determining anything on either side. But his Majesty, out of a desire to satisfy both himself and his houses of parliament touching that particular, referred the consideration of it to Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, and Laud, Bishop of St David's; who, meeting and considering of it, on the twelfth of April, returned this answer to the King: 'That some things in that sermon had been spoke less warily, but nothing falsely; that nothing had been innovated by him in the doctrine of the Church of England; but howsoever, that they thought very fit that Goodman should be appointed to preach again before his Majesty, for the better explaining of his meaning, and shewing how and in what particulars he had been mistaken by his auditors':—which he accordingly performed."—Cyp. Ang. 153.

[4] Extraneus Vapulans, 221-2. *A.* [Comp. Cyp. Angl. 446-7.]

[5] Barn. "Because."

[6] Barn. "Our."

[and prelatical party] into a general suspicion [of being as much inclined to Popery], yet Christian charity should instruct them not to think evil of all for the fault of one, or prejudge any one man, much less the whole body of a[1] Clergy, for the fault of another. It rather should be wondered at by all moderate and discerning[2] men, that, notwithstanding so many provocations of want and scorn, which have of late been put upon them, there should be found but one of that sacred 129
order [and but three more, that I have heard of, of the regular Clergy] to fall off to Popery; though to say truth, it was not in this Bishop a late falling off, but a pursuance rather of some former[3] inclinations which he had that way, that being thought to be the reason why he refused subscription to the canons in convocation[4]."

32. Seldom misfortunes go alone, but one of them is a prologue to another, though in conclusion of all the scene may end with a pleasant epilogue. And so it fared with Mr Heylyn, who met with a second disap-

[1] Barn. "the." [2] Barn. "discreet."

[3] Barn. "further."

[4] The canons of 1640. See Cyp. Ang. 446-7. The imputation of having died a Romanist is founded on a passage in Bishop Goodman's will; in which "he professed that as he had lived so he died, most constant in all the doctrine of God's holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; 'whereof,' he says, 'I do acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the mother church; and I do verily believe that no other church hath salvation in it, but only so far as it concurs with the faith of the Church of Rome.'" (Introd. to Goodman's "Court of K. James," edited by the Rev. J. S. Brewer, Lond. 1839, pp. xii.-xiii.) But, as Mr Brewer observes, the question is "What was meant by the terms *mother church* and *concurs with the faith of the Church of Rome?* A Romanist would rather have professed that the Church of Rome was the only true church, and would scarcely have admitted the possibility of salvation in a church separate and distinct from the Church of Rome. At least, if Goodman was consistent, he (having been so long a member of the Church of England) would scarcely say that he had lived most constant in the faith of the Church of Rome, if he considered the Church of Rome to be the only true and Apostolic Church."—Comp. Gladstone, Church Principles, 561-2.

pointment by the hand of fortune, he being yet neither [1631]
parson, vicar, nor curate, but one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary. He was now presented to another living, of which he missed his aim, but thereby was fortunate in his very misfortune. For, having attended the King, and preaching in his course at Whitehall, his Majesty was so well pleased with his sermon, that within a few days after Mr Heylyn was presented by the King to the rectory of Hemingford in the county of Huntington. Soon after he applied himself to the Bishop of Lincoln[1] for institution; which was not only
130 denied him, but the Bishop, more boldly than did befit his Lordship, disputed his own title against his Sovereign, and fell upon Mr Heylyn with most foul opprobrious language, because he presumed to defend the King's right against his Lordship: which he proved by the instruments of conveyance made from the other party[2]; at which the Bishop was the more highly offended with him, that such a young divine should have so great knowledge of the law, and especially to argue the case with his Lordship[3]. But this was not the main business,—*latet anguis in herba*[4], "there was a snake in the garden[5];" for his Lordship had a subtle design under disguise, or otherwise he would have easily waived his right of presentation, *pro hac vice*, to pleasure the King in the preferment of his Chaplain, or at least, preserving his own right, bestowed the living upon Mr Heylyn. But then here lieth the matter—his Lordship had been crossed in his wonted

[1] John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, 1621; Archbishop of York, 1641.—Godwin, De Præsul. 303.

[2] "He made good the King's right upon the passages of the conveyances of the other party."—Vernon, 42; who does not say that the Bishop claimed the patronage for himself. It is now in private hands.

[3] It is to be remembered that Williams himself was a lawyer as well as a divine—having been keeper of the Great Seal.

[4] Virg. Ecl. iii. 93. [5] Qu. "grass"?

[1631] method, that is, to give with one hand and take away with the other, which he could not for shame do with a King's Chaplain. For when he bestowed a living 131
upon any person,—(as he had many in his gift, being both Lord Bishop and Lord Keeper,)—he would tie the incumbent to pay an annual pension out of it, to be disposed to such charitable and pious uses as he thought fit; so that the stream of his charity flowed out of other men's purses, and not his own; at the best he robbed Peter to pay Paul: which the incumbents felt by dear experience, whom he kept at a low pittance, that for the most part they lived but poorly, for the heavy taxations laid upon them. By this means he had more pensioners than all the Noblemen and Bishops in the land together[1]: and, though he made no particular benefit to himself out of those livings than his name cried up for a noble benefactor, in all other things, to fill his own coffer, he was so covetous

[1] Fuller having spoken of Archbishop Williams's benefactions, Heylyn (Exam. Hist. i. 272) observes: "Among which benefactions it was none of the least, that in both the Universities he had so many pensioners; more (as it was commonly given out) than all the noblemen and Bishops in the land together: some of which received twenty nobles, some ten pounds, and other twenty marks, *per annum;* and yet it may be said without envy, that none of all these pensions came out of his own purse, but were laid as rent charges upon such benefices as were in his disposing, either as Lord Keeper or as Bishop of Lincoln, and assigned over to such scholars in each University as applied themselves to him. And because I would not be thought to say this without book, I have both seen, and had in my keeping till of late—(if I have it not still)—an acquittance made unto a minister in discharge of the payment of a pension of twenty nobles *per annum* to one who was then a student in Christ Church. The names of the parties I forbear; he that received it, and he for whom it was received (and perhaps he that paid it too), being still alive."—Comp. Certam. Epist. 141. Bp. Hacket, who vindicates Williams from Heylyn's observations on his share in public works of piety (ii. 92-3) does not advert to this charge. The alleged practice had something like a precedent in the orders of the early time of the Reformation, that ecclesiastics should be obliged to maintain poor scholars in the universities, according to the value of their preferments. See the History, i. 71, No. xv. of King Edward's Injunctions.

and extremely tenacious, that he would never let go what once he had laid hold on; for at the same time he was both Bishop, Dean, Lord Keeper, Parson of Walgrove, and held the poor Prebendary of Asgarby[1], in which last I have the honour to succeed his Lordship. [1631]

132 33. The King, hearing the news of Mr Heylyn's rough entertainment at Bugden,—how his royal presentation was slighted, and his Chaplain with ill words abused—was not a little offended with the Bishop, on whom he had heaped so many dignities one upon another, both in Church and State;—I will not say undeservedly, if his Lordship's loyalty and integrity had been answerable to his other great abilities. But his Majesty was pleased, for the comfort of his poor Chaplain, so disappointed and badly treated by the Bishop, to send him this gracious message by the Attorney General Mr Noy (not usual with Kings to private persons)—"that he was sorry he had put him to so much charge and trouble at Bugden; but it should not be long before he would be out of his debt." Nor long it was; for within a week after, a Prebendship in the collegiate church of Westminster, (where the Bishop of Lincoln was Dean), fell void, by the death of Mr Darrell; which the King bestowed upon Mr Heylyn[2], and with it sent a most gracious message by Mr Noy again—"that he bestowed that
133 prebendary on him to bear the charges of his last journey, but he was still in his debt for the living."

[1] "Nor did he only keep the bishoprick of Lincoln and the deanery of Westminster, but also a residentiary's place in the church of Lincoln, the prebend of Asgarve [*sic*], and parsonage of Walgrove [in Northamptonshire]; so that he was a whole diocese in himself, as being Parson, Prebend, Dignitary, Dean, and Bishop; and all five in one."—Heyl. Exam. Hist. ii. 67.

[2] He was installed, Nov. 9, 1631.—Le Neve, Fasti, 369.

[1631] 34. So that he is now entered into one of the fairest preferments, that hath all the accommodations and pleasures which a scholar's heart can wish:—a learned society; a well furnished library; a magnificent church, that hath an excellent quire in it for a chorus of heavenly voices—the one enough to stir up the coldest heart to devotion, and the other to the veneration of antiquity; where so many ancient monuments of Kings and Queens in Henry VII. Chapel have their sepulture—the most accurate pile of building in Europe, by some called the wonder of the world[1]; near which the courts of judicature, the high court of parliament, and not far from thence his Majesty's palace royal at Whitehall; that, if one would converse with all sorts of famous men, divines, lawyers, statesmen, and other persons of quality, he could not find out a place more suitable to the heart's desire; besides, situated healthfully, upon a firm gravelly foundation, and pleasantly, on the river Thames, about whose banks may be seen along that river, for many miles, most princely buildings, stately palaces, fair 134
towers and fields, as an old German poet describeth, whose verses are thus translated by the Doctor himself in his Cosmography—

Tot campos, silvas, tot regia tecta, tot hortos
Artifici excultos dextra, tot vidimus arces
Ut nunc Ausonio Thamesis cum Tibride certet.

We[2] saw so many woods, and princely bowers,
Sweet fields, brave palaces, and stately towers:
So many gardens drest with curious art,
That Thames with Tiber strives to bear a part[3].

[1] This praise seems to be intended for Henry the Seventh's Chapel, rather than for the whole church.

[2] Barn. "He."

[3] Cosmog. 295. *A.* [=259—where the conclusion is—
"drest with curious care,
That Thames with royal Tiber may compare."]

35. Therefore Mr Heylyn was happily disappointed [1632-3] of his former expectations, (as Providence ordained), to embrace a more noble preferment; that he might say now rejoicingly as Chærea did,

> Ecquis me vivit hodie fortunatior?
> Cui tam subito tot contigerint commoda[1]?

Or rather in the Scripture words—"The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places, yea, I have a goodly he-
135 ritage[2];" for certainly he could not be seated in a better manner, all those delightful conveniences considered; and yet to add more pleasure to them, he spared no cost to beautify and enlarge his Prebend's house. In the mean time his wife lived in the country, with his brother, Mr Edward Heylyn, at Minster Lovel in Oxfordshire, and sometimes with his uncle Raynton, at Shilton in Barkshire, a man of a good estate, who was afterward High Sheriff of the same county.

36. So soon as he was settled in his Prebend's house, several of his friends about town came to visit him and give him joy. Amongst others of most noble acquaintance, that he had gained by his frequent attendances in Whitehall, the Right Honourable Lord Falkland[3] was pleased first to honour him with a visit, and brought along with him a *miles gloriosus*, one Mr Nelson, an old sea Captain, with whom his Lordship seemed to be mightily delighted for his new way of discovery to find out the longitude of the sea; with which the Captain had troubled all the mathematicians about town, who generally dissented from his opinion,
136 that at last, by his Majesty's order, the decision of this sea question was referred to Mr Heylyn, as a person thought fit to determine it; but he could neither

[1] Ter. Eunuch. v. ix. 1-3. Barn. reads *congruerint*.
[2] Ps. xvi. 6.
[3] Henry, first Viscount, died in 1633.

[1632-3] satisfy the Captain nor the Lord with any further answer at present, than—"that his Majesty was mistaken in him, for his skill and knowledge did lie more in the historical than philosophical part of geography." At which the Lord Falkland seemed to be much displeased, thinking that he had spoken thus either out of slight to his old Captain, or through some averseness in himself to be engaged in the business; but Mr Heylyn quickly satisfied his Lordship to the contrary, that he intended to use all possible means by his own study, and consult with others more learned than himself in this point,—*non conamur tenues grandia*[1]—and afterward give the King and his Lordship a full account of the whole matter.

37. Several letters passed betwixt his Lordship and Mr Heylyn; but in one particularly his Lordship commended "the honest old Captain to his judicious care and consideration,"—telling him that "in the credibility of that phenomenon, his Majesty's resolution would be much guided by his judgment, which he found 137
would be of special authority with him; that he pressed the point oftener to him, because he conceived it a duty which he owed to the truth itself, to have it made manifest one way or other:—that is, either to be freed from the Captain's imposition and pretence, if upon trial it appeared to be fallacious; or else to be approved and declared for right and perfect, (if such it be), to the silencing perpetually of all malicious impugners thereof, that the world may be deprived no longer of the participation and use of so public and common a benefit."

38. After the receipt of his Lordship's letter, Mr Heylyn, who was ever forward to promote any probable notion in learning, and as ready to obey his Lordship's

[1] Horat. Carm. I. vi. 9.

commands, he both studied the point himself, and conferred with the learned Mr Oughtred, who was a person most likely, for his admired abilities in this kind of learning, to give satisfaction: but his judgment ran quite contrary to the sea Captain, with whom he discoursed about his hypothesis, and shewed him his
138 errors, of which he gave a full account to Mr Heylyn in a letter as followeth.

"I asked him the ground whereon he went, and told him the difficulties which others found. 'His ground' (he said) 'was by the nodes of the moon's circle, because the moon accompanies[1] the earth, having it the centre of her orb. The difficulties which others imagined, was the finding out the place of the node or ☊ upon the superficies of the earth.' His principle I determine to omit till more leisure; for I had but one whole day to stay in London. The difficulty of the place of ☊ I saw factible at sea, and accordingly let him understand it. Now being at London, I desired conference with him, and thus I proceeded—'You require for the discovery of the longitude, the place[2] of ☊ upon the earth; well, imagine you were now at sea in an unknown place, and that I gave you in degrees of longitude the distance of ☊ from that place where you are:—what will you conclude?' He was entering into I know not what, by demands of, *If this*, and *If that;* but I held him to the question in the hypothesis, telling him, he had
139 what he required. At last he answered—'Why methinks you have already done it yourself. You have the distance of ☊ in the degrees of longitude of the ☊ from an unknown place, and therefore the

[1] So Vernon, by whose copy (pp. 46-8) the text has been corrected; Barn. "accompanied."

[2] Barn. "distance."

difference of the ♌ is also unknown, except to[1] that place only: but we require the distance from the other known place, which you promised to argue.' At last he began to be sensible of his mistake, and I advised him to desist from such undertakings, and, being of so great an age, to labour the discovery of another voyage, or rather only labour to attain to the blessed end thereof, being already opened to us by our Saviour. And this was the end of our communication, and will be, I suppose, of that business also. I wonder how [the Captain] for these twelve years, wherein he hath mused upon this subject, and hath had conference with so many learned men, would receive no answer: but it seems they gave him too much liberty of digression; and he, having a very ill expression of his confused conceits, entangled himself more and more in perplexities."

Thus at last the old Captain was weaned from his dear opinion, which he had doted upon for so many 140
years; but to his further grief, and worthily to be la-
[1633] mented by others, followed the death of his friend and learned Lord, who was the honour of his time and degree. And had his Lordship but lived unto these times of ours, since the institution of the Royal Society, unto whom he had commended the hypothesis, their profound learning and exquisite knowledge, rare invention and judgment, by which they have made so many wonderful discoveries of things, would have quickly satisfied his Lordship's scrupulosity, which was more to be regarded than the Captain's fancy: "For this noble society has made particular inquiries of tides, currents, and depths of the sea, since their first foundation, having [made] a vast number of experiments[2],"—"a new

[1] Barn. "in."

[2] [Chamberlayne,] Angliæ Notitia, c. xxiii. *A.* [p. 305, ed. 1677.]

instrument," saith Dr Sprat[1], "to sound the depth of [1633]
the sea without a line." The sea's longitude is easy,
once taken under their consideration.

39. Mr Heylyn being released of this troublesome
Captain and the sea's longitude, which was out of Mr
141 Heylyn's reach and proper element, he thought it more
useful and necessary to study the statutes of the land,
the laws and customs of this nation, Acts of parlia-
ment, old statutes and records, to compare them with
the times and circumstances occurring in story, whereby
he might enable himself by this means to do better
service both to Church and state. And this was a
most profitable as well as delightful diversion from his
other studies. His improvements appeared to be so
great therein, that afterward he utterly confounded
the utter barrister and scribbler against the state Mr
William Pryn, of Lincoln's Inn; who being called to
question for his *Histrio-mastix*, Mr Heylyn was sent
for to the council-table, where his Majesty commanded
him to read over that seditious book, and collect thence
all such passages as were scandalous and dangerous to
the King and state, and write them down in such
logical inferences as might naturally arise and follow
upon the premises: all which Mr Heylyn exactly per-
formed, and delivered his copy to the Attorney General,
Mr Noy, who presented the same to the King and
142 Lords of the Council; of whom it was observed, that
they urged not any thing against Mr Pryn upon his
trial, but what was contained in Mr Heylyn's papers
of collection[2]: who took occasion at the same time

[1] Sprat's Royal Society. *A.*

[2] This account is in substance taken from Cyp. Ang. 230-1; from which passage, and the Life by Vernon, 50-1, it appears that "the book being found too tedious for their Lordships to be troubled with," it was delivered to Heylyn on Jan. 27, 1632-3, and a fortnight was allowed for the performance of his task, which, however, he finished in four days. The statement that the King's counsel merely repeated Heylyn's instructions,

[1633] to publish a book touching the punishments due by law and in point of practice against such notorious offenders as Pryn[1], Bastwick, and Burton, the *triumviri* of sedition.

40. For this and other good services, which with wonderful prudence, as well as diligence, Mr Heylyn faithfully performed, his Majesty was graciously pleased to requite him, as Cæsar did those servants who best merited,—he bestowed upon them riches and honours, saith Sueton: *Quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollebantur*[2]. Therefore the parsonage of Houghton, in the bishoprick of Durham, worth near £400. per annum, being made void by the preferment of Dr Lindsel to the see of Peterborough[3], the King bestowed [it] upon Mr Heylyn; which afterward he exchanged with Dr Marshal, Chanter of the church of Lincoln, for the parsonage of Alresford in Hampshire, that was about the same value; to which exchange Mr Heylyn was commanded by his Majesty, that he might 143
live nearer the court, for readiness to do his Majesty service[4]. Neither was he envied for this or his other preferments, because every one knew his merits was the only cause of his promotion—(for "men of emi-

is said to have been made by Prynne himself at a later time.—Cyp. Ang. 231.

[1] For the trial of Prynne and others, in Hilary Term, 1633-4; see Rushworth, ii. 220-241.

[2] This quotation is really from Tacitus, Annal. i. 2.

[3] Augustine Lindsell, consecrated Feb. 10, 1632-3.—Richardson in Godwin, 559.

[4] The King "ordered Mr Secretary Windebank to take care for the Broad Seal [to the presentation to Houghton]; but within a few hours after, intimated his royal pleasure to him, by the Bishop of London [Laud], that it should be exchanged for some other living nearer hand, and more for the convenience of his Chaplain, his Majesty conceiving that he might have frequent occasion to make use of his advice, and therefore was unwilling that he should have any preferment that was so far distant from his court. Upon this, Dr Heylyn entered into a treaty with Dr Marshall, &c."—Vernon, 52.

nent worth and virtue, when they are advanced," saith my Lord Bacon[1], "their fortune seemeth but due to them, for no man envieth the payment of a debt:")— that, as his Majesty was pleased most graciously to express upon his loss of the living by the Bishop of Lincoln[2], so, according to his royal promise, he doubly repaid that debt by a living of twice the value. Into which he was no sooner instituted and inducted, but he took care for the service of God to be constantly performed, by reading the Common Prayers in the church every morning, which gave great satisfaction to the parish, being a populous market-town; and for the communion-table, where the blessed Sacrament is consecrated, he ordered that it should be placed, according to ancient custom, at the east end of the chancel[3], and railed about decently, to prevent base
144 and profane usages; and where the chancel wanted any thing of repairs, or the church itself, both to be amended.

41. Having thus shewed his care first for the house of God, to set it in good order, the next work followed was to make his own dwelling-house a fit and convenient habitation, that to the old building he added a new one, which was far more graceful, and made thereto a chapel next to the dining-room, that was beautified and adorned with silk hangings about the altar. In which chapel himself or his Curate read Morning and Evening Prayer to the family, calling in his labourers and workfolks; for he was seldom without them while he lived, saying, that he "loved the noise of a workman's hammer:" for he thought it a deed of charity, as well as to please his own fancy,

[1] Essays, c. 9. [of Envy.] *A.* [The words *and virtue* are not in Bacon.]
[2] Sup. p. LXXIX.
[3] See "How shall we conform to the Liturgy?" 152-162.

[1633] by often building and repairing to set poor people a-work, and encourage painful artificers and tradesmen in their honest callings. He built a hall in the middle of the house, from the very foundation, upon the top whereof was a high turret of glass: on one side of the hall, a fair garden with pleasant walks, cypress-trees, 145
and arbours; on the other side, upon the front, a spacious court, at the gate of which next the street a high wooden bridge, that went cross over the street into the church-yard, on which himself and family went to church, to avoid the dirty common way, which was almost unpassable. Besides, he made many new conveniences to the out-houses and yards belonging to them. All which was no small charge to his purse; for I have heard him say, it cost him several hundreds of pounds in Alresford's-house, where he in a manner buried his wife's portion. Yet after his death, his eldest son was unreasonably sued for dilapidations in the Court of Arches by Dr Beamont, his father's successor; but the gentleman[1] pleaded his cause so notably before Sir Giles Swet, then judge of the court, that he was discharged, there being no reason or justice he should be troubled for dilapidations occasioned by the long war, when his father was unjustly turned out of his house and living.

42. After so much cost bestowed upon Alresford and his prebend-house in Westminster, he constantly 146
resided in one of those places, where he kept good hospitality and took care to relieve the poor, following also his wonted studies, not only in History, but Fathers, Councils, and Polemical Divinity, the better to prepare himself for a new encounter with the old Professor, Dr Prideaux; for he resolved to go on in his University degrees, notwithstanding his removal from Oxon,

[1] "The ingenious gentleman."—Folio, p. x.

and to perform those exercises required in that case, [1630] in which he always came off with credit and applause. Being now to take his degree of Bachelor in Divinity[1] in July, anno Dom. 1630, [his Latin Sermon was][2] upon these words, Matt. iv. 19: *Faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum.* Upon the Sunday after he preached the Act Sermon, upon this text, Matt. xiii. 14: "But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way;" where he made a seasonable application of this subject, (as the times then stood), of the danger of lay-feoffees in buying up impropriations. A godly[3] project it appeared at the first sight, but afterwards a tare fit to be rooted up—

147 Pulchra Laverna
Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri[4].

The pretension of those feoffees seemed to be very just and pious; but their intention and practice was quite contrary, by planting many pensionary lecturers in many places, where the preachers were non-conformists, from whom could be expected no better fruit than the overthrow of episcopal government. The words of Mr Heylyn's Sermon as to this particular are as followeth.

43. "For what is that which is most aimed at in it, but to cry down the standing Clergy of this kingdom, to undermine the public Liturgy, by law established, to foment factions in the state, schisms in the Church, and to have ready sticklers in every place for the advancement of some dangerous and deep design? And, now we are fallen upon this point, we will proceed a little further in the proposal of some things

[1] It will be seen that this is related out of its proper place, the degree of *Doctor* being that which was now to be taken.
[2] Fol. x.; Vern. 53. [3] Qu. "goodly?"
[4] Horat. Ep. I. xvi. 60-1.

[1630] to be considered. The corporation of feoffees for buying in impropriations to the Church, doth it not seem in appearance to be an excellent piece of wheat, a noble and gracious part of piety? Is not this *templum* 148
Domini, *templum Domini*[1]? But, blessed God, that men should thus draw near to thee with their mouths, and be so far from thee in their hearts! For what are those entrusted in the management of this great business? Are they not most of them the most active and best affected men in the whole cause, *et magna partium momenta*, and chief patrons of this growing faction? And what are those that they prefer? Are they not most of them such men as are and must be serviceable to their dangerous innovations? And will they not in time have more preferments to bestow than all the Bishops of the kingdom—and so, by consequence, a greater number of dependants to promote their interest? Yet all this while we sleep and slumber, and fold our hands in sloth, and see, perhaps, but dare not note it. High time it is assuredly you should be awaked, and rouse yourselves upon the apprehension of so near a danger."

If we look further upon this new device and holy project—it being observed, (as Fuller[2] saith), "that those who hold the helm of the pulpit, always steer the peo- 149
ple's hearts as they please,"—the feoffees therefore placed their lecturers in market-towns and corporations that were most populous, where they might carry the greater sway of electing burgesses to serve in parliament; or for the most part these zealous preachers were such as had been silenced and suspended in the ecclesiastical courts[3], or those that were well wishers

[1] Jer. vii. 4.

[2] Ch. Hist. [b. ix.] 195. *A*. [folio ed. The same passage is quoted by Heylyn, Exam. Hist. i. 210.]

[3] Heylyn mentions that "such an one was placed by Geering, one of

to non-conformists. The parties themselves trusted in this design of buying impropriations were of such affections as promised no good unto the peace and happiness of the Church of England, being twelve in number, four ministers, four common lawyers, and four citizens[1]; all of them known to be averse unto the discipline of the Church, that, as Dr Heylyn[2] saith, "If such public mischiefs be presaged by astrologers from the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn,—(though the first of these be a planet of a most sweet and gentle influence,)—what dangers, what calamities might not be feared from the conjunction of twelve such persons, of which there was not one that wished well to
150 the present government? And therefore I may say of them as Domitius Ænobarbus said unto his friends when they came to congratulate with him for the birth of Nero—*Nihil ex se et Agrippina nisi detestabile et malo publico nasci potuisse*[3]."

[The noise and calumnies that were raised and fixed upon Mr Heylyn after this Sermon incited him to make a more narrow search into the matter, and to multiply as well as strengthen his former arguments; which he delivered to his endeared friend Mr Noy, who undertook the suppression of the feoffees in the King's name; and they were accordingly suppressed in a

the citizen-feoffees, in a town of Gloucestershire—a fellow which had been outed of a lecture near Sandwich, by the Archbishop of Canterbury; out of another in Middlesex, by the Bishop of London; out of a third in Yorkshire, by the Archbishop of York; out of a fourth in Lincolnshire, by the Bishop of Lincoln; and finally suspended from his ministry by the High Commission—yet thought the fittest man by Geering (as indeed he was) to begin this lecture."—Exam. Hist. i. 210-1.

[1] Fuller, vi. 67. Comp. Heyl. Cyp. Angl. 209-212, where it is stated that his own relation, Alderman Rowland Heylyn (already mentioned, p. xxxiv.) was treasurer of the fund.

[2] Exam. Hist. i. 209. *A.*

[3] Sueton. Ner. c. 6. Barn. reads *potest*; Heylyn quotes correctly.

[1633] judicial way of proceeding in the Exchequer chamber, Feb. 13, 1633[1].]

44. But now we must come to the Divinity Schools again, where Mr Heylyn must undergo the public exercise of disputation for his degree of Doctor, and appear before his severe judge and Moderator Dr Prideaux, whose animosities and angers since the former disputation, in all the tract of time from the year 1627 to 1633, were not abated or in the least cooled, but more inflamed; that the Professor took upon himself the office of an Opponent rather than of a Moderator, so that those to whom the Opponent's part belonged could hardly put in an argument for his passion. In the former disputation Mr Heylyn asserted the visibility and infallibility of the Church, but now he insisteth upon its authority; and his questions were these following—

An Ecclesia habeat auctoritatem:

1. *In determinandis fidei controversiis?*
2. *Interpretandi S. Scripturas?* 151
3. *Decernendi*[2] *ritus et ceremonias?*

45. "All which he held in the affirmative," (as himself gives an account of the whole disputation[3]) "according to the plain and positive doctrine of the Church of England in the twentieth Article, which runs thus *in terminis*, viz. *Habet Ecclesia ritus sive ceremonias statuendi jus et in fidei controversiis authoritatem, &c.* But the Doctor was as little pleased with these questions and the Respondent's stating of them, as he was with the former; and therefore, to create to the Respondent the greater odium, he openly declared that the Respondent had falsified the public doctrine of the Church, and charged the Article with that sentence,

[1] Inserted from Vernon, 57. For the suppression of the feoffees, see Cyp. Angl. 212; Fuller, vi. 86-7; Rushworth, ii. 150-2.

[2] Barn. "discernendi."

[3] Exam. Hist ii. 215-9. *A.*

viz. *Habet Ecclesia ritus sive ceremonias, &c.*—which was [1633]
not to be found in the whole body of it. And for
the proof thereof he read the Article out of a book
which lay before him, beginning thus,—*Non licet Eccle-*
siæ quicquam instituere quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur,
&c. To which the Respondent readily answered, that
152 he perceived by the bigness[1] of the book which lay
on the Doctor's cushion, that he had read that Article
out of the Harmony of Confessions published at Geneva,
anno 1612, which therein followed the edition of the
Articles in the time of King Edward the Sixth, anno
1552, in which that sentence was not found; but that
it was otherwise in the Articles agreed on in the Con-
vocation, anno 1562[2], to which most of us had sub-
scribed in our several places[3]. But the Doctor still
persisting upon that point, and the Respondent seeing
some unsatisfiedness in the greatest part of the audi-
tory, he called on one Mr Westly, (who formerly had
been his chamber-fellow in Magdalene College), to step
to the next bookseller's shop for a book of Articles;
which being observed by the Doctor, he declared him-
self very willing to decline any further prosecution of
that particular, and to go on directly to the dispu-

[1] Barn. "lines." [2] Barn. "1561."

[3] The clause, however, as the reader is doubtless aware, is wanting in several English editions of the *Elizabethan* articles; and, although I have not seen the volume which is spoken of in the text, I suspect that it, like the edition which is in the British Museum, may have contained the articles of *Elizabeth*, but without the clause in question. (Harmonia Confess. Genev. 1654, p. 103.) The conduct of Prideaux and the audience, as here described, shews that the clause was not universally known; while at the same time Heylyn was safe in sending to a shop for a book of the Articles, as the copies then commonly on sale were naturally of late editions, published under the auspices of Laud, to whom it was objected (although ignorantly and falsely) that the clause was an interpolation of his own. (See Eliz. vi. 5; Cyp. Ang. 339; Biogr. Britann. iv. 2596.) The writer in the Biographia (who is by no means favourable to Heylyn) shews that, even if the clause were spurious, the 20th Article would have borne out his argument.

[1633] tation. But the Respondent was resolved to proceed no further, *usque dum liberaverit animam suam ab ista calumnia*, as his own words were, till he had freed himself from that odious calumny; but it was not long 153
before the coming of the book had put an end to the controversy, out of which the Respondent read the Article in the English tongue *in his verbis*, viz. 'The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,' &c.: which done, he delivered the book to one of the standers-by who desired it of him, the book passing from one hand to another till all men were satisfied. And at this point of time it was that the Queen's Almoner left the Schools[1], professing afterwards that he could see no hope of a fair disputation from so foul a beginning[2]. The Doctor[3] went about to prove that it was not the Convocation but the high court of Parliament which had the power of ordering matters in the Church, in making canons, ordaining ceremonies, and determining controversies in religion; and could find out no other medium to make

[1] Heylyn adds, "and not as being tired with the tedious preface of the respondent, before the disputation began,"—such being Sanderson's statement in "Peter Pursued," p. 9. The Almoner was Jaques du Perron, afterwards Bishop of Angoulême.—Wood. Oxon. Ath. iii. 555.

[2] Exam. Hist. ii. 218.

[3] "The paper" [a paper circulated by Prideaux, and reprinted in Sanderson's "Peter Pursued"] "tells us of a hiss which is supposed to have been given (and makes the Doctor [Prideaux] sure that such a hiss was given) 'when the Respondent excluded King and parliament from being parts of the Church.' (p. 29.) But, first, the Respondent is sure that he never 'excluded King and parliament from being parts of the *Church*'—that is to say, of the diffusive body of it, but denied them to be members of the *Convocation*, that is to say, the Church of England represented in a national council, to which the power of decreeing rites and ceremonies, and the authority of determining controversies in faith, as well as to other assemblies of that nature, is ascribed by the Articles: which, as it did deserve no hiss, so the Respondent is assured that no such hiss was given when these words were spoken. If any hiss were given at all, as perhaps there was, it might be rather when the Doctor went about to prove," &c.—Exam. Hist. ii. 218.

it good, but the authority of Sir Edward Cook (a learned [1633]
but mere common lawyer) in one of the books of his
Reports. An argument—(if by that name it may be
154 called)—which the Respondent thought not fit to gratify
with a better answer than *Non credendum esse cuique extra suam artem*[1]." And certainly a better answer could not be given by Mr Heylyn, (I may say)

[1] "Immediately whereupon the Doctor gave place to the next Opponent, which put an end to the heats of that disputation. In which, if the Doctor did affirm that the Church was *mera chimæra* (as it seems he did), what other plaister soever he might find to salve that sore, I am sure he could not charge it on the insufficiency of the Respondent's answers, who kept himself too close to the Church-representative, consisting of Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy in their several councils, to be beaten from it by any argument which the Doctor had produced against him."—Exam. Hist. ii. 218-9. Wood tells us that Heylyn's propositions, "though taken verbatim out of the xxth Article of the Church of England, were so displeasing to Dr Prideaux, that he fell into very great heats and passions, in which he let fall certain matters very unworthy of the place where uttered, as also distasteful to many of the auditory...The particulars were these: 1. *Ecclesia est mera chimæra.* 2. *Ecclesia nihil docet nec determinat.* 3. *Controversiæ omnes melius ad academiam referri possunt quam ad Ecclesiam.* 4. *Docti homines in academiis possunt determinare omnes controversias, etiam sepositis episcopis,* &c. Upon occasion also of mentioning the absolute decree, he brake into a great and long discourse, that his mouth was shut up by authority, else he would maintain that truth *contra omnes qui sunt in vivis;* which fetched a great hum from the country ministers then present."—(Ath. Oxon. iii. 555.)

"These passages," says Wood, in his Hist. and Antiq. Oxf. iv. 392, "being sent up to the Chancellor [Laud] by the Inceptor's means, he forthwith communicated them to his Majesty, and, being openly read in his hearing, [he] commanded the Chancellor to send them to Dr Prideaux, to have his answer to them, whether these passages were true or not. The 22nd of August following, the Chancellor received the Doctor's answer, wherein he opens and explains the whole matter so that little or nothing of truth was in the aforesaid information." Prideaux's explanation is given by Sanderson. (Peter Pursued, 7-8.) Of the propositions imputed to him, he says: "These passages, imperfectly catched at by the informer, were not positions of mine—(for I detest them, as they are laid, for impious and ridiculous)—but oppositions according to my place proposed for the further learning of the truth; to which the Respondent was to give satisfaction. To the first, I never said that the Church was *mera chimæra*, as it is or hath a being, and ought to be believed; but as the Respondent by his answers makes it: in which I conceived him to swerve

[1633] Non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsum[1].

46. This last exercise completed him in all degrees that the University could confer upon him. Being now a Doctor in Divinity, he returned home with honour; where shortly after news was sent him that the King had bestowed upon him a Prebendary at Windsor, by the intercession of Dr Neale, then Archbishop of York; but it proved otherwise, for that Prebendary was promised to Dr Potter, when he presented to the King his book called "Charity Mistaken[2];" and he also went without it, by reason of the Bishop of Glocester not being translated to the Church of Hereford[3], (as

from the article, where his questions were taken. To the second, my argument was to this purpose: *Omnis actio est suppositorum vel singularium: ergo Ecclesia in abstracto nihil docet aut determinat, sed per hos aut illos episcopos, pastores, doctores,* &c." To the third and fourth points he answers, that the Universities may advantageously act in answering questions by way of preparing them for the determination of Synods, &c. "But so nettled was Prideaux that the King, by Heylyn's means, should take cognizance of that matter, that, when he put in his protestation against the utterance of those things alleged against him, into the hands of the Chancellor of the University, in August following, he did at the same time (the King being then at Woodstock) cause a paper to be spread about the court touching the business of the vespers in the last act, very much tending to Heylyn's disgrace."—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 555. Comp. Heyl. Exam. Hist. ii. 211-13; where he denies having given information against the Professor, and states that Prideaux himself was at last convinced of this. He says that the paper printed by Sanderson as Prideaux's justification to the King was not exhibited at Woodstock, but was drawn up by the Professor after his return to Oxford.

[1] Terent. Andr. iv. ii. 15.

[2] Christopher Potter, D.D., was Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the King. In 1635, he was made Dean of Worcester.—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 179-181. "Charity Mistaken" was in fact the title of the Romish work (written by Watson, alias Knott, a Jesuit), which Potter answered in a treatise entitled "Want of charity justly charged on all such Romanists as dare (without truth or modesty) affirm that Protestancy destroyeth salvation."—(Lond. 1633.) Knott replied in "Mercy and Truth," &c.; which drew forth the celebrated work of Chillingworth.

[3] On the vacancy caused by the death of Godwin (author of the work *De Præsulibus Angliæ*) Juxon was elected, but, without entering on

was then commonly reported); who kept the same [1634]
Prebend in his hands, by which means both the candidates were disappointed. This Goodman, Bishop of Glocester, at that time affected a remove to the See of Hereford, and had so far prevailed with some great officers[1] of state, that for money—(which he offered
155 like Simon Magus, and it was taken)—his *congé d'eslir* issued out, and his election passed: but Archbishop Laud coming opportunely to the knowledge of it, and being ashamed of so much baseness in the man, who could pretend no other merit than his money—the wretched Bishop was glad to make his peace, not only with the resignation of his election, but the loss of his bribe[2]. While these things were agitated, the young Doctor, new come from the University, where he had run through so hard a task with the Regius Professor, though he missed Windsor, took this occasion to make himself merry as the poet did—(*musa jocosa mea est.* Ov.[3])—and so fell into this vein of poetry—

> "When Windsor Prebend late disposed was,
> One ask'd me sadly, how it came to pass
> Potter was chose, and Heylyn was forsaken?
> I answer'd, 'twas by *Charity Mistaken.*"

47. But this fancy was soon turned into a mournful elegy, by the death of his noble friend the Attorney General, Mr Noy[4], whose memory he could never forget
156 for the honour of delivering to him the gracious message from his Majesty, and for the intimacy he was

Hereford, was promoted to the see of London, vacant by the elevation of Laud to the primacy.—Richardson, in Godw. 496, who goes on to state that Goodman "Episcopatum hunc sibi oblatum detrectavit."

[1] "Officer."—Cyp. Ang. 263.

[2] Cyp. Ang. 248. *A.* [=263.] Heylyn says that the Archbishop "so laboured the business with the King, and the King so rattled up the Bishop, that he was glad to make his peace," &c.

[3] Trist. III. ii. 6.

[4] Aug. 9, 1634.—Laud, in Rushworth, ii. 245.

[1634] pleased to bear to him as a bosom friend, that he imparted to the Doctor all the affairs of state and transactions of things done in his time—which made him so perfect an historian in this particular—and shewed him his papers, manuscripts, and laborious collections, that he had gathered out of statutes and ancient records for the proof of the King's prerogative. Particularly before his death, at his house in Brainford, where the Doctor kept Whitsuntide with him in the year 1634, he shewed to him a great wooden box that was full of old precedents for levying a naval aid upon the subjects, by the sole authority of the King, whensoever the preservation and safety of the kingdom required it of them[1]. Mr Hammond Le Strange acknowledges that Mr Noy was a most "indefatigable plodder and searcher of old records[2]." The learned antiquary Mr Selden (though no friend to the King nor Church) confesses in his excellent book entituled *Mare Clausum*, that the Kings of England used to levy money upon the subjects without the help of parliament, for the providing of ships and other ne- 157
cessaries to maintain that sovereignty which anciently belonged to the crown[3]. Yet the honest Attorney-General, for the same good service to the King and country, is called by Hammond Le Strange[4], "the

[1] Observ. on Hist. of K. Charles, 121. *A.*

[2] Hist. of K. Charles, 131. *A.*

[3] "He proved, by constant and continual practice, that the Kings of England used to levy money from the subjects, without help of parliament, for the providing of ships and other necessaries to maintain the sovereignty which did of right belong unto them. This he brought down unto the times of King Henry the Second [Mar. Claus. ii. c. 15; Seld. Opp. ii. 1332-3, ed. Wilkins], and might have brought it nearer to his own times, had he been so pleased, and thereby paved a plain way to the payment of *shipmoney*, as they commonly called it. But then he must have crossed the proceedings of the House of Commons in the last parliament (wherein he was so great a stickler)."—Cyp. Ang. 322.

[4] Hist. of K. Charles, 131. *A.*

most pestilent vexation to the subjects that this latter age produced." So true is the old proverb, "Some may better steal a horse than others look on;" for it is usual with many, not to judge according to the merits of the cause, but by the respect or disrespect they bear to the person, as the comedian once said: [1634]

> Duo cum idem faciunt, sæpe ut possis dicere,
> Hoc licet impune facere huic, illi non licet:
> Non quod dissimilis res sit, sed quod [is] qui facit[1].
>
> When two does both alike, the self-same act,
> One suffers pain, the other, for the fact,
> Not the least shame or punishment; and why?
> Respect of persons makes crimes differently.

58 48. The death of Mr Noy the more sadly afflicted the Doctor, to lose so dear a friend and an entire lover of learned men; during whose time, no unhappy differences brake out betwixt the Dean of Westminster and the Prebends of that church, but all things were carried on smoothly by his Lordship[2], because he knew well that Dr Heylyn had a sure advocate in court, both in behalf of himself and his brethren, if they stood in need of help; that no sooner this worthy person departed the world, but the Bishop so extremely tyrannized over the Prebendaries,—infringing their privileges, violating their customs, and destroying their ancient rights—that, for the common preservation of themselves and their successors, they were forced to draw up a charge against his Lordship, consisting of no less than thirty-six articles, which were presented[3]

[1] Terent. Adelphi, v. iii. 37-9.

[2] Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln. Vernon, 66-87, relates the proceedings between the Dean and the Prebendaries of Westminster at great length. Bp. Hacket, in his Life of Williams, uses some severe language against Heylyn, speaks of the articles exhibited by the Prebendaries as frivolous, and gives some instances. He represents the Prebendaries as having lent themselves to the purposes of more important persons, who had long wished to injure the Dean.—ii. 91-3.

[3] March 31, 1634.—Vernon, 67. (If this date be right, it is a mistake

[1634–5] by way of complaint and petition of redress to his sacred Majesty; who forthwith gave order for a commission to be issued out unto the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Portland, [Lord High Treasurer, the Lord Bishop of London][1], the Lord Cottington, the two Secretaries of State, Sir John Cook, and Sir Francis 159
Windebank; authorising them to hold a visitation of the church of Westminster, to examine the particular charges made against John Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and to redress such grievances and pressures as the Prebends of the said church suffered by his misgovernment.

49. The Articles were ordered by the Council Table to be translated into Latin by Dr Heylyn, (which accordingly he performed), to avoid the common talk and scandal that might arise, if exposed to the public view of the vulgar. On April 20, A.D. 1634, the commission bore date, which was not executed but lay dormant till December, 1635. The Bishop expecting the business would never come to a hearing, he raged more vehemently, dispossessed the Prebends of their seats, refused to call a chapter and to pass their accounts, conferred holy orders in the said church without their consent, contrary to an ancient privilege which had been inviolably retained from the first foundation of the church; he permitted also benefices in their gift to be lapsed unto himself[2], that so he might 160
have absolute power to dispose them to whom he pleased—*Quo teneam nodo*[3]*?*—with many other griev-

to say that the differences in the church of Westminster began after the death of Noy.)

[1] Vernon, 67.

[2] "Permitting a benefice in the gift of the said church, and lying within his diocese, to be lapsed into himself."—Vernon, 68.

[3] "Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?"—Hor. Ep. I. i. 90.

ances, which caused the Prebends to present a second [1635—6]
petition to his Majesty, humbly beseeching him to take the ruinous and desperate estate of the said church into his princely consideration.

50. Upon which the former commission was revived, a day of hearing appointed, and a citation fixed upon the church-door of Westminster, for the Bishop and Prebends to appear on Jan. 27. Upon the 25th instant, the Prebends were warned by the Subdean to meet the Bishop in Jerusalem-chamber, where his Lordship, foreseeing the storm that was like to fall upon his head, carried himself very calmly towards them, desiring to know what those things were that were amiss, and he would presently redress them, (though his Lordship knew them very well without an informer): to which Dr Heylyn replied, that, seeing they had put this business into his Majesty's hands, it would ill become them to take the matters out of his into
161 their own. Therefore on Jan. 27th, both parties met together before the Lords, in the inner Star-chamber; where, by their Lordships' order, the whole business was put into a methodical course, each Monday following being appointed for a day of hearing, till a conclusion was made of the whole affair. On February the 1st, the Lords Commissioners with the Bishop and Prebends met in the Council-chamber at Whitehall; where it was first ordered that the plaintiffs should be called by the name of *Prebends supplicant:* secondly, they should be admitted upon oath as witnesses: thirdly, they should have a sight of all registers, records, books of account, &c., which the Bishop had kept from them: fourthly, that the first business they should begin with should be about their seat, because it made the difference or breach more visible and offensive to the world than those matters which were private and domestic:

[1635–6] and lastly, it was ordered, that the Prebends should have an advocate to plead their cause, defend their rights, and represent their grievances. Accordingly the Prebends unanimously made choice of Dr Peter Heylyn for their advocate.

51. The business now brought on so fairly, the 162
Lords Commissioners met again on February the 8th following, before whom the Bishop put in his plea about the seat or great pew under Richard II.[1], from which he had disgracefully turned out the Prebends, and possessed it wholly to himself, or the use of those stangers to whom he had a special favour—thinking scorn that honoured society should sit with him, a Bishop. But the Prebends' Advocate proved their right of sitting there by these particulars:—first their original right; secondly their derivative right; thirdly their possessory right. How excellently he managed their cause, and what a mean defence the Bishop made for himself[2], would be too tedious and impertinent to insert here[3], concerning none but the church of Westminster. Finally, upon hearing the matters on both sides, it was ordered by general consent of the Lords Commissioners, that the Prebends should be restored to their old seat, and that none should sit there with them but Lords of the Parliament and Earls' eldest sons, according to the ancient custom[4]. [After this, there was no Bishop of Lincoln to be seen at Morning

[1] i. e. under the monument of that King.

[2] "When [Dr Heylyn] had ended his speech, the Lord Commissioners expected that the Bishop would have made a reply. But, after a long pause, he said no other words than these—'If your Lordships will hear that young fellow prate, he will presently persuade you that I am no Dean of Westminster.'"—Vernon, 80.

[3] This is a reflection on Vernon, who is also ridiculed in Barnard's Preface, (p. 14) for swelling his work with the details of "the story of Westminster."

[4] The rest of this paragraph, and the next, are from Vernon, 80-2.

Prayer in the church, and seldom at Evening. Feb. [1636]
15[1], the Lords Commissioners went on in hearing the particulars of the second petition; and so they proceeded from one Monday to another, till Monday, April 4, and then adjourned till the 25th of the same month; upon which day the business was again resumed, and the Bishop of Lincoln appeared not so well to the Lords Commissioners, except those of the laity, who were apparently inclined to favour him: and therefore those of the Clergy thought it neither fit nor safe to proceed to sentence; and upon that the commission was put off *sine die.*

The Advocate's activity in this affair procured him a great deal of enmity and ill-will, both in court and country—as every man's zeal will do that will be true to his principles and faithful in his station. But Dr Heylyn gained these two advantages by his zeal in this business—viz. [1] that he justified the privileges of the Prebendaries, out of whose revenue the Bishop kept a plentiful table, inviting to it the chiefest of the nobility, clergy, and gentry;—the Prebendaries having no other advantages by his hospitality than to fill their bellies with the first course, and then, after the manner of great men's Chaplains, to rise up and wait till the coming in of the second: and the other was, that, by his frequent and extempore debates before the Lords Commissioners, he was at last brought to such an habit of speaking, that preaching became more easy and familiar to him than it had been in the first part of his life.]

163 52. But what were those differences about a seat, to the disputes risen at that time about the Sabbath? In the History of which Dr Heylyn was then engaged, and in a short time he perfected it, to satisfy the

[1] Heyl. Exam. Hist. i. 275, who gives Feb. 18, as the date.

[1635] scrupulous minds of some misguided zealots, who turned the observation of the Lord's-day into a Jewish Sabbath; not allowing themselves or others the ordinary liberties for[1] works of absolute necessity, which the Jews themselves never scrupled at. Against which sort of Sabbatarians the Doctor published his History of the Sabbath. The argumentative part of that subject was referred to Dr White, Bishop of Ely; the historical part of it to Dr Heylyn[2]—*Huic nostro tradita est provincia*[3]. Both of their books never answered to this day[4], but pickird at by Mr Palmer and Mr Cawdrey[5], two divines of the Smectymnian Assembly, and by some other sorry writers of less account. But the foundation and superstructure, both in the logical and historical discourses of those two pillars of our Church, stand still unmoveable; the latter, though an historian upon the subject, does fully answer all the material arguments of the adversaries' side brought out of Scripture, as well as history. Neither doth the Bishop nor the Doctor in the least encourage or countenance in all their writings any profaneness of the day, when Christian liberty is abused to licentiousness; nor, on the other side, would they have the religious observation of the day brought into superstition: for Sunday, amongst some I have known, hath been kept 164

[1] Ed. "nor."

[2] The History of the Sabbath "was written, printed, and presented to the King (by whose special command he undertook it) in a less space of time than four months, and had a second edition within three months after."—Vern. 88.

[3] Terent. Heaut. III. ii. 5.

[4] "The Bishop's book had not been extant very long, when an answer was returned unto it by Byfield, of Surrey: which answer occasioned a reply, and the reply begat a rejoinder. To Heylyn's book there was no answer made at all — whether because unanswerable, or not worth the answering, is to me unknown."—Cyp. Ang. 296.

[5] *Sabbatum Redivivum*, by Dan. Cawdrey and Herbert Palmer, 2 parts, Lond. 1645-52.—Watt.

as a fast-day, contrary to the ancient opinion and practice of the primitive Church, who judged it a heresy and not an act of piety—*Nefas est die Dominica jejunare*[1]. That the day should be spent from morning to evening so strictly in preaching and praying, in repetition upon repetitions, in doing works of supererogation which God never required at their hands, nor any Christian Church commanded, to make the Sabbath a burden, that ought to be a Christian's delight, is new divinity among the reformed Churches: in Geneva itself, before and after divine service, the people are at liberty for manly recreations and exercises[2].

165 Upon complaint made before Lord Chief Justice Richardson[3], of some disorders by feasts, wakes, revels, and ordinary pastimes on Sundays, particularly in the county of Somerset, his Majesty ordered that the Bishop of Bath and Wells[4] should send a speedy account of the same.

The Bishop called before him seventy-two of the orthodox and ablest Clergymen among them, who certified under their several hands, that on the feast-days, (which commonly fell upon Sundays), the service of God was more solemnly performed, and the church was better frequented, both in the forenoon and afternoon, than upon any Sunday in the year[5].

To decry the clamour of the Sabbatarians, a lecture

[1] "Die Dominico jejunium nefas esse ducimus."—Tertull. De Coron. Mil. c. iii. (quoted by Heylyn, Hist. Sabb., in Tracts, 429.) Tertullian mentions this in enumerating things which were observed on the authority of unwritten tradition.

[2] Heyl. Hist. Sabb., in Tracts, 470.

[3] A. D. 1631.—Cyp. Ang. 256. Comp. Fuller, vi. 95-8.

[4] William Pierce, consecrated to Peterborough, 1630; translated to Bath and Wells, 1632; recovered his see on the Restoration, and died 1670.—Richardson, in Godwin, 392, 559.

[5] Cyp. Ang. 242. [= 257.] *A.*

read by Doctor Prideaux at the Act in Oxon, anno 1622, was translated into English, in which he solidly discoursed both of the Sabbath and Sunday, according to the judgment of the ancient Fathers and the most approved writers of the Protestant and Reformed Churches. This lecture was also ushered with a preface; in which there was proof offered of these three propositions—first, that the keeping holy one day of 166
seven is not the moral part of the fourth commandment: secondly, that the alteration of the day is only an human and ecclesiastical constitution: thirdly, that still the Church hath power to change the day, and transfer it to some other. The "name of Prideaux was then so sacred, that the book was greedily bought up by those of the Puritan faction; but when they found themselves deceived of their expectation, the book did cool their courage[1] and abate their clamour[2]."

53. Since our Saviour's reproof of the Jews for their superstitious fear of transgressing the traditions and commandments of their fathers, by which they kept the Sabbath with more rigour than God had commanded, they are now bent upon the other extreme, as Buxtorf[3] tells us; so hard a thing it is to keep a medium between two extremes. *Quanto voluptatis isti percipiunt* (saith he) *tanto se devotius Sabbatum colere statuunt*—"The more pleasures they take on the Sabbath-day, the more devoutly they thought that they keep the Sabbath." So that the rigid Sabbatarian hath no example of Jew or Christian, and, I am sure, no 167
command of God in Scripture, nor precedent in antiquity or ecclesiastical history, but will find there the

[1] Barn. "colours."

[2] Cyp. Ang. [261.] *A.* [The translation of Prideaux's Discourse was published by Heylyn himself, for the purpose of at once supporting his cause, and annoying his old enemy.—Vern. 63.]

[3] Synag. Jud. c. xi. [p. 173, Hanov. 1603.] *A.*

Lord's-day is from ecclesiastical institution. I speak not this—(I abhor it)—to animate or the least encourage people in looseness and debauchery, to neglect the duties of religion or the worship and service of God upon this holy day, which they ought, as they tender their souls, with singular care and conscience to observe; but hereby I think my father-in-law is justified —(though his own book is best able to vindicate himself)—that his opinion is orthodox, both according to the doctrine of the Church of England, and the judgment and practice of Protestant Churches—that the Lord's-day should be religiously observed, and yet withal the lawful liberties and urgent necessities of the people preserved, and not to be so tied up and superstitiously fearful that they dare not kindle a fire, dress meat, visit their neighbours, sit at their own door, or walk abroad, no nor so much as talk with one another, except it be, in the poet's words,

168 Of God, grace, and ordinances,
As if they were in heavenly trances.

To which I may add a more smart and witty epigram, upon the scruple and needless dissatisfaction in them, not only about the Sabbath but our Church and religion; in those verses of Dr Heylyn[1] to Mr Hammond Le Strange, as followeth—

A learned prelate of this land,
Thinking to make religion stand
With equal poise on either side,
A mixture of them thus he tried:
An ounce of Protestant he singleth,
And then a dram of Papist mingleth,
With a scruple of the[2] Puritan,
And boiled them [all] in his brain-pan;
But when he thought it would digest,
The scruple troubled all the rest.

54. Notwithstanding this scrupulosity in them,

[1] Observ. on Hist. of K. Charles, 90. *A.*
[2] Barn. "a."

[1636] the world knows their hypocritical practices under all those zealous pretences, how light they are in the balance, and how extraordinary a thing it is to find from their hands downright honesty and plain dealing. They are too much like the scribes and Pharisees, 169
who by godly[1] shews of long prayers, sad countenances, justification of themselves, that they were the only righteous and all others sinners, played the hypocrites most abominably. To deceive the vulgar sort, they made religion a mere mock and empty shew, πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι, saith our Saviour[2], "to be seen like stage-players in a theatre." *Nam tota actio est histrionica,* as Erasmus[3] well observeth, "Their whole carriage was dramatic," to make a feigned pageantry and ostentation of piety. Yet John Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in compliance with this sect, out of discontent and revenge, because deprived of the great seal and commanded by the King to retire from Westminster, transformed himself into one of these angels of new light, and made himself the archangel and head of their party: first of all, by writing his pretended Letter to one Titly, Vicar of Grantham, against the holy communion-table standing altarwise; to which Dr Heylyn made a sudden and sharp reply, in his book entituled, "A Coal from the Altar[4];" to which the Bishop within a twelvemonth after—(he took time enough for the work)— 170

[1] Qu. "goodly?" [2] Matt. xxiii. 5.

[3] Annot. in loc. *A.* ["Convenit enim spectaculi verbum cum histrionibus."]

[4] "The Dean of Peterborough [John Towers, Dean 1630, Bishop of Peterborough 1638, died 1648.—Le Neve, 241; Richards. in Godw. 560] engages him to answer the Bishop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham. He received it upon Good Friday, and by Thursday night following discovered the sophistry, mistakes, and falsehoods of it; and yet did not for all that intermit any of the public exercises of the holy feast of Easter. It was approved by the King; by him given to the Bishop of London, to be licensed and published."—Vernon, 89-90. Comp. Cyp. Angl. 171, 332. The Letter to the Vicar of Grantham had been written in 1627; Hackett says that it was now brought into notice, nine

did return an answer, under the title of "The Holy Table, Name and Thing," pretending withal that this was written long ago by a minister in Lincolnshire, against Dr Cole, a divine in Queen Mary's reign[1]. No sooner the King heard of this new book, but he sent a command to Dr Heylyn, to write a speedy answer to it, and not in the least to spare the Bishop[2]. Neither did the Doctor baulk the grand Sophos, but detected all his false allegations, and answered them that were true, which the Bishop had wrested to a contrary sense, if we will look into the Doctor's book called by him *Antidotum Lincolniense*. All this while the Bishop—(as it must be confessed, being a man of learning)—writ against his own science and conscience; so dear is the passion of revenge, to gratify which, some men wilfully sin against the light of their own souls: therefore the Bishop, according to the Apostle's word was αὐτοκατάκριτος[3], "condemned of himself." For look upon him in the point of practice, and we shall find the communion-table was placed altarwise in the [1636—7]
171 cathedral church of Lincoln, whereof he was Bishop, and in the collegiate church of Westminster, of which

years after, by the enemies of Williams, in order to injure his case in the Starchamber, which was "ripe for hearing."—ii. 101.

[1] Cyp. Ang. 311. [= 331.] *A*. [The book professed in the title-page to be "printed for the diocese of Lincoln," and was licensed by the author himself, with the signature "Jo. Lincoln, Dean of Westminster." He professes in the licence to have "read through, and thoroughly perused, a book called *The Holy Table*, &c., written by some minister of this diocese," and to "conceive it to be most orthodox in doctrine, and consonant in discipline, to the Church of England: and to set forth the King's power and rights in matters ecclesiastical truly and judiciously."

[2] April 1, 1637. "And he obeyed the royal command, in the space of seven weeks presenting it ready printed, the 20th of May following, and called it *Antidotum Lincolniense*. And although the Bishop's book was—(from the dissatisfaction of the times, the subject-matter of the book itself, and the religious esteem of the author, who was held in high veneration)—looked upon to be unanswerable, and sold for no less than 4*s*., yet upon the coming out of the answer, it was brought to less than one."—Vernon, 90-1. Comp. Cyp. Angl. 332.

[3] Tit. iii. 11.

he was Dean; and lastly, in the private chapel of his own house, (as Dr Heylyn saith[1]) in which it was "not only placed altarwise, but garnished with rich plate and other costly utensils, in more than ordinary manner." By all which the Bishop needed no further refutation of his book than his own example, that in those places where he had authority, the holy table did not stand *in gremio* and nave[2] of the quire, as he would have it fixed[3], but above the steps, upon the altar[4], close to the east end of the quire, *ex vi catholicæ consuetudinis*, "according to the ancient manner and custom in the primitive Catholic Church." But *hinc illæ lachrymæ*[5] ever since; this mischief followed his book, that in most country churches, to this day, the table is set at the hither end of the chancel[6], without any

[1] Exam. Hist. p. 278. *A.* [A difference, however, had always been recognised, in this and other respects, between cathedral churches and private chapels on the one hand, and parish churches on the other. Williams maintained that "without some new canon the holy table is not to stand altarwise in parish churches" (*Holy Table*, 20); and his view was, thus far, unquestionably more historically correct than that of Heylyn. Comp. Hackett, ii. 108.]

[2] Qu. "navel?"

[3] Williams "ordered that at communion it be placed according to convenience; that at other times it stand in the east, but with its end east and west. If the position in the east were found convenient at all times, still he considered it uncanonical to *fix* the table."—(H. Table, 13, 19, 204); How shall we conform to the Liturgy? pp. 159-160. But the text seems rather to allude to an order given by him as Bishop, (for which the editor has lost the reference), that the table should stand in the middle of the chancel, surrounded by a rail.

[4] i. e. upon "the place where the altar stood," according to the direction given in the royal Injunctions of 1559, as to the *ordinary* position of the holy table, which by the same injunction was to be removed to a lower part of the chancel—(or, according to the rubric, into the body of the church)—at times of administration.—See Cardwell, Doc. Annals, 1, 202-5; How shall we conform, &c. 152-3; Hackett, ii. 107-9; Heyl. Hist. Ref. 289, ed. 3.

[5] Horat. Ep. i. xix. 41.

[6] Hence—as Barnard wrote after 1630—it was not altogether correct to say that "the fashion of placing the holy table altarwise has been all but universal from the time of the Restoration," (How shall we conform, &c. 161)—the introduction of the usage which the biographer desired having been more gradual than those words intimate.

traverse or rails to fence it; boys fling their hats upon [1637] it, and (that which is worse) dogs piss against it, country juries write their parish accounts, amerciaments, by-laws, &c., all which is a most horrible profanation, and not to be suffered[1].

72 55. But now John Lord Bishop of Lincoln, who would have removed the holy communion-table from its proper place, and had displaced his Prebends of their ancient seat, was himself at this time, anno Dom. 1637, thrown out of his episcopal chair, by sentence of the Star-chamber, for endeavouring to corrupt the King's evidence in a cause of bastardy brought before his Majesty's justices of peace, at Spittle sessions, in the county of Lincoln[2],—which business afterward came to a hearing before the Lords in Star-chamber; by whose definitive sentence the Bishop was suspended *ab officio et beneficio,* deprived of all his ecclesiastical preferments, deeply fined, and his complices with him, and afterward committed to the Tower of London, where he continued prisoner for three years; and in all that space of time his Lordship did never hear sermon or public prayers[3], to both which he was allowed liberty; but instead thereof he studied schism and faction, by his own example, and his pen disguisedly.

56. During the time of his Lordship's imprison-

[1] These and other profanations are suggested by Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, as reasons for removing the table to the east end of the chancel.—Cyp. Ang. 289.

[2] This accusation grew out of another. Williams was informed against by Sir John Lambe for disclosing the King's secrets, and relied much for his defence on the witness of Pregion, registrar of Lincoln. Hence it became his interest to maintain Pregion's credit; and, when the registrar was accused of attempting to affiliate a child of his own on another person, the Bishop was induced to enter into some dealings which gave a foundation for the charge mentioned in the text.—See Hackett, ii. 111-126; Fuller, vi. 124-133; Cyp. Ang. 171-2, 343-4. The sentence was passed on Williams July 23, 1637.

[3] Cyp. Ang. 324. *A.* [= 344-5. Comp. Exam. Hist. i. 275.]

[1637] ment, Dr Heylyn was chosen Treasurer for the church 173
of Westminster; in which office he discharged himself with such diligence and fidelity, that he was continued in it from year to year, till the Bishop's release out of the Tower and his removal back again to Westminster. While he was Treasurer, he took care for the repairs of the church, that had been neglected for many years: first[1], the great west aisle, that was ready to fall down, was made firm and strong; and[2] the south side of the lower west aisle, much decayed, he caused to be new timbered, boarded and leaded; but chiefly the curious arch over the preaching place (that looketh now most magnificently) he ordered to be new vaulted, and the roof thereof to be raised up to the same height with the rest of the church; the charge of which came to £434. 18*s.* 10*d.* He regulated also some disorders of the quire, particularly the exacting of sconces or perdition money, which he divided among them that best deserved it, who diligently kept prayers, and attended upon other Church duties[3].

57. Whilst he was Treasurer, his brethren the 174
Prebendaries, to testify their good affections to him, presented him to the Parsonage of Islip, near Oxford; a very good living, worth about £200. per annum, then by the death of Dr King made void; but by reason of the distance from Alresford, (though standing most conveniently to taste the sweet pleasures of the University), he thought fit to exchange it for another nearer hand, the Rectory of South-warnborough, in the county of Hampshire, that was in the gift of

[1] Ed. "first of."

[2] Ed. "and of."

[3] "Thrice he assisted in the election at Westminster School, and every time had an opportunity of bringing in a scholar into that royal foundation; for two of which he was never spoke unto; and for his kindness unto all three he never had the value of one pint of wine, nor anything of less moment."—Vernon, 93.

St John's College in Oxon; to which exchange he was [1638]
furthered by the Archbishop, who carried a great stroke
in that College, of which he had been President. It
pleased God soon after to visit him and his family at
Alresford with a terrible fit of sickness, of which none
escaped—(the disease was so contagious)—but the
cook's boy in the kitchen, who was then master cook
for the whole family; and he performed his part so
well in making their broths and other necessaries, that
he was the best physician among the doctors; for by
his kitchen-physic the sick was cured[1]. No sooner Dr
Heylyn recovered of the distemper, but he betook himself
75 from his bed to his book, and fell upon a more than ordi-
nary piece of study[2]—the History of the Church of
England since the Reformation. An easy matter for
others to tread the path, when he had found out the
way[3]. Though he is dead, he yet speaketh, and the

[1] "This fever had so seized upon his spirits, that, after the abatement of its paroxysms, he had many dull and sleepless nights; and, returning upon him with greater violence a twelvemonth after, he was reduced to so extreme a weakness that all his friends, together with himself, supposed him fallen into a deep consumption."—Vernon, 94.

[2] Begun Sept. 1638.—Vern. 194.

[3] This passage is intended against Burnet, who had given great offence to Heylyn's friends by the following character of his History:—"Doctor Heylyn wrote smoothly and handsomely, his method and style are good, and his work was generally more read than anything that had appeared before him: but either he was very ill-informed, or very much led by his passions; and he, being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner and so strangely, that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the Church of Rome, though I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excused, that he never vouched any authority for what he writ; which is not to be forgiven any who write of transactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what grounds he wrote a good deal of his book, we can only conjecture; and many in their guesses are not apt to be very favourable to him."—(Pref. to Hist. of the Reformation.) The last sentence of this criticism is palpably unfair. One who had just gone over the same ground ought surely, if he mentioned that suspi-

truth of things without respect of persons; not to ingratiate himself with the parliament and presbyterian party, to make our religion itself parliamentary, which Papists and Presbyterians affirm. He spared no pains nor cost to search into old records, registers of convocation, Acts of parliament, orders of council-table, and had the use of Sir Robert Cotton's library[1] to take out what books he pleased, leaving a pawn of money[2] behind for them. In all his other writings what a faithful historian he hath appeared to the world, is sufficiently known, and will be shewed in this particular. In the mean while let not men be too credulous of another's transcriptions, that are under question, *an verbum de verbo expressum extulit*[3]—whether they are copied out exactly from the originals, (wherein lies the main controversy in matter of fact), which I am not 176
bound, nor other men, to believe till we are convinced by our own eyes; besides, it is an inglorious encounter to fight with a man's ghost, after he has been dead near twenty years, with whom the late historian, nor any other whilst he was living, durst venture with him in the point. The heathens scorned to rake in the ashes of the dead, but, as Tacitus says of Agricola,

cions had been cast on the good faith of the earlier historian, to have stated whether the result of his own researches had been to confirm or to dissipate those suspicions; and it is evident, from the body of Burnet's work, that he had really found very little cause to call Heylyn's narrative in question—nothing at all which could be a pretext for impeaching his honesty. In excuse of some inaccuracies, and of the want of references, (which is now in a great measure remedied,) it is to be remembered that the *Ecclesia Restaurata*, although the collection of materials was begun long before, was composed after the failure of the author's eyesight, and at a time when he was obliged to rely on an amanuensis of scanty education. The charge of favouring Romanism will be noticed hereafter, (§. 90.)

[1] See Heylyn's Pref. "To the Reader," p. xv.

[2] £200. for each book, according to Vernon, 95.

[3] Terent. Adelph. Prol. 11.

ut in loco piorum manibus destinato placide quiescat[1], "that he might rest without disturbance in the place appointed for souls." However the Doctor's learning and fidelity in history is so publicly known, that it is not in the power of any Scot or English Aristarchus to blast his good name. And let this suffice at present—

Magnus Aristarcho major Homerus erat[2].

58. Whilst he was so intent upon the History of [the] Reformation, he found little encouragement to go on in these studies, for the discontents that boiled in this nation, and the commotions then begun in Scot- [1637]
land, upon pretence of the Common Prayer imposed upon them. And a mere pretence indeed it was; for
177 herein was nothing done but with the consent and approbation of their own Scottish Bishops, who made what alterations in the Liturgy they pleased[3], to which they had his Majesty's royal assent; but the blame was wholly laid upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, who only commended the book to them, *spe quidem laudabili, sed eventu pessimo*, as the learned Dr Bates[4] said, "the success being improsperous, though the enterprise commendable." The Archbishop unjustly censured for it, he caused Dr Heylyn to translate the Scotch Liturgy into Latin, and his Lordship intended to set out his own apology with the book, to vindicate himself from those

[1] ["Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnæ animæ, placide quiescas."]—Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. [c. 46.] *A.*

[2] Ovid. ex Ponto, III. ix. 24.

[3] See Cyp. Ang. 236, 323, 348.

[4] ["Scopo quidem laudabili (sic sua sibi blandiebatur opinio), ut tres finitimæ nationes, unus regis sub imperio, uno pariter conformi Dei cultu conjungerentur; eventu tamen pessimo."]—Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum. [Paris, 1649, p. 35. For an account of Bates, who was physician to Charles I., Cromwell, and Charles II., see Wood's Athen. Oxon. iii. 827. His *Elenchus* was revised by Heylyn before publication.—Vern. 172.]

aspersions thrown upon him, that the world might be satisfied with his Majesty's piety and goodness, and his Lordship's own care and readiness to serve that nation; but their hasty rebellion (to which they were ever precipitant) put an end to the Bishop's apology and the Doctor's translation.

Hamilton, whom Dr Burnet doth so highly applaud[1], had a party that not only opposed this Liturgy but betrayed the King on all occasions; nay some of the 178
bed-chamber, who were Scots, were grown so saucy and impudent, that they used to ransack the good King's pockets when he was in bed; to transcribe such letters as they found, and send the copies to their countrymen in the way of intelligence[2]. To speak the matter in a word, he was grown of Scots in fact a King, though not in title, his Majesty being looked on by them as a cypher in the arithmetic of state.

The Scotch Covenanters, after the unhappy war was begun, called it *bellum episcopale*, "the bishops' war," raised only to uphold their hierarchy; but the truth is, as the Doctor proveth[3]: "Though Liturgy and Episcopacy were made the occasions, yet they were not the causes of this[4] war, religion being but the vizard to disguise that[4] business, which covetousness, sacrilege, and rapine had the greatest hand in; for the King resolving to revoke[5] all [such] grants of abbey-lands, the lands of bishopricks and chapters, and other

[1] In "The Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton." Lond. 1673, folio. On Hamilton, see Cyp. Ang. 370.

[2] Cyp. Ang. 355. [=378.] *A.*

[3] Observ. on L'Estrange, 151. *A.*

[4] Barn. "the."

[5] "The reader, therefore, is to know, that the King, being engaged in a war with Spain, and yet deserted by those men who engaged him in it, was fain to have recourse to such other ways of assistance as were offered to him; and amongst others, he was minded of a purpose which his father had of revoking, &c."

religious corporations, which, having[1] been vested in the crown by Act of parliament, were conferred on many of the nobility and gentry in his father's minority,
179 when he was under protectors[2]; whence the nobility of Scotland made use of discontented and seditious spirits, (under colour of the canons and Common Prayer) to embroil that kingdom, that so they might keep their lands, and hold up their power and tyranny over the people[3]."

59. To appease the tumults in Scotland, and quench [1640] the sparks of sedition that began to kindle in England, the King called a parliament, and issued out his writ for Clerks in Convocation. At which time the Doctor was chosen by the College of Westminster their Clerk to sit in Convocation[4]: where he proposed a most excellent expediency, (which would be of happy use if still continued), for the satisfaction of some scrupulous members in the house of Commons, about the ceremonies of our Church;—that there might be a mutual conference by select committees between the house of Commons and the lower house of the Convocation, that the Clergy might give the Commons satisfaction in the point of ceremonies, and all other things relating to the Church. Which motion from him was well accepted, and generally assented thereto; and no doubt a most happy
180 success would have followed upon it, not only to take away all scruples, but to beget a reverence and love from the Commons to the Clergy, by such a mutual conference and conversation. But this parliament being then suddenly dissolved[5] put a period to that and

[1] Barn. "have."

[2] "To make them sure unto the side, or else by strong hand of power extorted from him." Thus far the extract is from pp. 151-2; the remainder is from pp. 155-6.

[3] Heyl. "and not lose their power."

[4] Apr. 1640.—Vern. 96.

[5] May 5, 1640.—Rushw. iii. 1154.

[1640] all other business; at the news of which, brought unexpectedly to the Doctor, while he was busy then at the election for the school of Westminster, his pen fell from his hand, himself struck dumb with admiration—

Obstupuit, steteruntque comæ, [et] vox faucibus hæsit[1].

"A sad and unfortunate day it was," saith the Doctor[2], "and the news so unpleasing, [unto the author of these papers, whosoever he be[3], that, being] brought him by a friend, whilst he was writing some dispatches, it so astonished him (though he had heard some inkling of it the night before) that suddenly the pen fell out of his hand, and long it was before he could recollect his spirits to return[4] an answer"

60. The Convocation usually endeth in course the next day after the dissolution of parliament. But the Doctor, well knowing that one great end of calling parliaments is to raise the King money for the public concerns, he therefore went to Lambeth, and shewed the Archbishop a precedent in the reign of Queen Elizabeth[5] 181 for granting subsidies or a benevolence by Convocation, to be levied upon the Clergy, without the help of a parliament; whereby the King's necessities for money might be supplied: and so it successfully fell out. The Archbishop acquainting the King with this present ex-

[1] Virg. Æn. ii. 774. [2] Observ. on L'Estrange, 176. *A.*

[3] The "Observations" were published anonymously.

[4] Barn. "give."

[5] "In the year 1585 (if I remember it right, as I think I do), the convocation, having given one subsidy confirmed by parliament, and finding that they had not done sufficiently for the Queen's occasions, did after add a benevolence or aid of two shillings in the pound, to be levied upon all the clergy, and to be levied by such synodical acts and constitutions as they digested for that purpose, without having any recourse to the parliament for it; which synodical acts and constitutions the clergy of this present convocation followed word for word, not doubting but they had as good authority to do it now, as the convocation in Q. Elizabeth's time had to do it then."—Heyl. Observat. p. 197. Comp. Cyp. Angl. 429.

pediency, the Convocation still continued sitting, not- [1640]
withstanding the dissolution of parliament. And when this was scrupled at by some of the house, the Doctor resolved their doubts and rid them of their fears, by shewing them the distinction betwixt the King's writ for calling a parliament and that for assembling a Convocation, their different forms, and independence of one upon another[1]. Finally it was determined by the King himself, and his learned counsel in the law, that the Convocation, called by his Majesty's writ, was to be continued till it was dissolved by his writ, notwithstanding the dissolution of parliament[2]. This benefit the King got by their sitting, six subsidies under the name of Benevolences[3], which the Clergy paid to him.

[In[4] this learned assembly, few or none of those propositions which either concerned the institution, power, or privileges of sovereign Kings, or related to the episcopal power, doctrine or discipline of the English Church, but were either first proposed or afterward drawn up by Dr Heylyn. It was he who was placed on purpose by the Prolocutor to speak last in the grand committee for the Canon of Uniformity, and to answer all such arguments as had been brought against any of the points proposed, and were not answered to his hand. It was he who made a proposition for one uniform Book of Articles, to be used by all Bishops and Archdeacons in visitations, to avoid

[1] "But more especially betwixt the writ by which they were made a convocation, and that commission by which they were enabled to the making of canons: that, though the commission was expired with the parliament, yet the writ continued still in force; and by that writ they were to remain a convocation, until they were dissolved by another."—Cyp. Ang. 429.

[2] Cyp. Ang. 429; Observations, 180; Exam. Hist. i. 228, seqq.

[3] This name was adopted "according to the advice of the council-learned, by whom it was resolved, That no monies could be raised in the name of a *subsidy* but by act of parliament."—Cyp. Ang. 440.

[4] This paragraph is abridged from Vernon, 100-104.

[1640] the confusion that happened in most parts of the Church for want of it—those Articles of the Bishops many times everting those of the Archdeacons, and one Bishop differing from another, the successors from the predecessors; and the same person not consistent to those articles which himself had published: by means whereof the people were much disturbed, the rules of the Church contemned[1] for their multiplicity, unknown by reason of their uncertainty, and despised by reason of the inconstancy of those that made them. The motion, backed by these reasons, did so well please the Prolocutor, with the rest of the Clergy, that they desired the Doctor, in pursuit of his own project, to undertake the compiling of the said Book of Articles, and to present it to the house with all convenient speed. And, notwithstanding all the storms that were then rising, this excellent person went through the Book of Articles; the compiling of which gave no obstruction to him from attending the service of the committee upon all occasions. And for the better authorizing of the Articles, he placed before every one of them in the margin the canon, rubric, law, injunction, or other authentic evidence, upon which they were grounded. Which, being finished, were by him openly read in the house, and by the house approved and passed, without any alteration; only that exegetical or explanatory clause in the fourth article of the fourth chapter, touching the reading of the communion-service at the Lord's table, was desired by some to be omitted, which was done accordingly. Finally, it was Dr Heylyn who proposed a canon[2] "for enjoining the said book to be only used in parochial visitations."]

[1] So in Vern. and in Cyp. Angl. 436, from which he borrows; but perhaps "condemned" would be a better reading.

[2] Canon 9 of 1640.—Cardwell, Synodalia, 407.

182 61. On Friday, May 29, the Canons of that Con- [1640]
vocation were unanimously subscribed unto by all the Bishops and Clergy, no one of them dissenting but the Bishop of Glocester; for which he was deservedly suspended: who afterward turned Papist, and was the only renegado Prelate of this land[1]. Of this Convocation, Sir Edward Deering, to shew his wit, (which he dearly paid for after), in one of his speeches to the house of Commons, was pleased to say, that "every one that had a hand in making their Canons should come unto the bar of the house of Commons with a candle in one hand, and a book in the other, and there give fire to his own Canons[2];" which good fortune afterward fell upon his own book of speeches, (*nec lex est justior ulla*)[3], which by order of the house of Commons was burnt in the fire by the hand of the common hangman[4]—a public disgrace that he worthily deserved for his proud eloquence, in often prating against the King and Church. In another of his speeches he tells them, "that if they could bring the Lords to sit in the House of Commons, and the King to be but as one of the Lords, then the work was
183 done." And finally, in another[5], he so abuseth all the cathedrals in the kingdom, with so foul a mouth, as if he had licked up the filth of all the former libels, to vomit it at once upon them. And yet this gentleman afterward, (as Doctor Heylyn saith), made it his earnest suit to be Dean of Canterbury; which being denied him by the King, in a great discontent he returned to the parliament, &c.[6] But lastly, to con-

[1] Sup. p. lxxvi., note 4.

[2] Collection of Speeches by Sir E. Deering, printed 1642. *A.*

[3] "neque enim lex æquior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua."
Ovid. Art. Am. i. 655-6.

[4] Heyl. Observations, 178. [5] Speeches, 151. *A.*

[6] Observations, 178. *A.* [where it is added, "though he thought good

[1640] sider the sad condition of that Convocation before they were dissolved, the Doctor, as one of their fellow-members, speaks most feelingly. During all the time of their sitting they were under those horrid fears, by reason of the discontents falling upon the parliament's dissolution, "that the King was fain to set a guard about Westminster abbey for the whole time of their sitting. Poor men, to what a distress were they brought! in danger of the King's displeasure if they rose, of the people's fury if they sat; in danger [of being beaten up by tumults, while they were at work], of being beaten down by the following Parliament, when the work was done; and after all obnoxious to the lash of censorious tongues for their good intendments: for, notwithstanding their great care that all 184
things might be done with decency and to edification, every one must have his blow at[1] them[2]."

For Pryn published the *Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus*[3], and his other libel of *News from Ipswich*, wherein he called the Archbishop of Cant[erbury] "arch-agent of the devil," that "Belzebub himself had been Archbishop, and all the Bishops were Luciferian Lords[4]." "The like reproaches were thundered out of the pulpit by Burton in his sermon on Prov. xxiv. ver. 22, where

to put some other gloss upon it in his declaration." After all, however, Deering's petition for the deanery was not so inconsistent with his speeches as is here represented; for, while, in the passage above referred to and elsewhere, he had used very violent language against the existing holders, he had professed a strong desire to preserve the endowments of cathedrals, as "the great reward and powerful encouragement of religion and learning."—147. For an account of Deering, see Southey, Book of the Church, ed. 4, pp. 457, 476-7.]

[1] Barn. "of." [2] Heyl. Observ. 181.

[3] This and the other books here mentioned were of earlier date than the narrative would lead us to suppose, having been published about 1636.—Cyp. Ang. 328. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick were tried and sentenced in June 1637.—Rushw. ii. 380-5.

[4] Cyp. Ang. 328-9.

he abused the text and Bishops sufficiently, calling them [1610] instead of fathers, step-fathers; for pillars, caterpillars, limbs of the beast, factors for antichrist, and anti-christian mushrooms[1]." Bastwick laid about him before in his *Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium;* when he had worn out that rod, took another in his *Litany*[2]. Finally, the rabble had a cursed song among them, to affront the poor Clergy with, as they met them, saying:

> Your Bishops are bite-sheep,
> Your Deans are dunces,
> Your Priests are the Priests of Baal:
> The devil fetch them all by bunches.

85 62. And now the fire smothering in the embers at last broke forth into an open flame at the session of the next parliament, which was fatal both to Church and State, and finally to themselves, that with scorn they were turned out of doors by their own servants who became their masters. The first sitting of them was on a dismal day, notable and infamous, November 3rd, when Henry VIII. began the dissolution of abbeys, and Papists with Protestants "were laid both on one hurdle and burnt together at the same stake[3]." The King then promised his people should for ever be acquitted of taxes, *ut facilius illi monasteria concederentur*, saith Sanders[4], "that monasteries and religious houses might be more easily granted to him. The parliament opening on that critical day, Archbishop Laud was advertised in a letter to move the King, that for good luck sake their session might be put off to another day; but this being looked upon by his Lordship as a superstitious conceit, he waived the

[1] Ibid. 309. [=330.] *A.* [2] Ibid. 328.

[3] Mason's Book of Martyrs, p. 202. *A.* ["Christ's Victory over Satan's Tyranny," by Thos. Mason, folio. The reference does not agree with the edition of 1615.]

[4] ["Ut cives eo libentius in monasteriis evertendis ipsius libidini assensum præberent."]—De Schism. Anglic. 202. *A.* [=168.]

[1640] motion of it to the King; which proved afterward the fall of himself and the hierarchy. At the opening of this long parliament, a general rumour was spread 186
abroad that Doctor Heylyn was run away, for fear of an approaching storm, that was like to fall on his own head, as well as on his Lordship's Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury. But he, who was ever of an undaunted spirit, would not pusillanimously desert the cause of the King and Church, then in question, but speedily hastened up to London from Alresford, to confute the common calumny and false report raised on him by the Puritan faction; that he appeared the next day in his gown and tippet in Westminster-hall, and in the church, with his accustomed formalities of cap, hood, and surplice[1]; employed also his pen boldly in defence of the Bishops' rights, when the temporal Lords began to shake the hierarchy, in passing a vote, that no Bishop should be of the committee for examination of the Earl of Strafford, being *causa sanguinis:* upon which the Doctor drew up a brief and excellent discourse, full of law and history, entituled *De Jure Paritatis Episcoporum,* "The Bishops' Right of Peerage[2]"—(so consequently that they ought to sit in that committee). Their privilege and right are maintained by him, which by law or ancient custom doth 187
belong unto them.

63. It is worth our while, to see what he hath written upon this point in the cause of blood many years after the first discourse of the Bishops' Peerage, when there was little hopes of ever their returning again into the House of Peers. "That the Bishops were disabled by some ancient Canons" (saith he)[3]

[1] Extran. Vapulans, 55.

[2] It was first printed in the folio of Tracts, 1681.

[3] Observations, 224. *A.* [The right of the Bishops is also argued by Hackett, Life of Williams, ii. 149-160.]

"from sentencing any man to death, and, (it may be), from being present when any such sentence was pronounced, I shall easily grant; but that they were disabled from being assistants in such case, from taking the examinations or hearing the depositions of witnesses, or giving counsel in such matters, as they saw occasion, I believe not. Certain I am, that it is and hath been otherwise in point of practice, and that the Bishops, sitting as Peers in an English parliament, were never excluded before this time from any such assistance as by their gravity and learning and other abilities they were enabled to give in any dark and[1] difficult business, (though of blood and death), which
88 were brought before them[2]. As for the Council of Toledo, it saith nothing to their disadvantage; the Canon is, *Si quis Sacerdotum discursor in alienis periculis extiterit, apud Ecclesiam proprium perdat gradum*[3], that 'if any Priest shall intermeddle in cases endangering the life of others, let him be degraded.' Hereupon I conclude, (as to the present business in hand), that the Bishops were to be admitted to all preparatory examination [in the present business] because their counsel and assistance would have tended rather to the preservation than conduced to the endangering of the party's life. I[4] saw about that time" (saith he) "a little manuscript tract, entituled, *De Jure Paritatis Episcoporum,* that is to say, 'Of the Right of the Peerage

[1] Barn. "or."

[2] A passage from the *Extraneus Vapulans*, 283-4, is introduced here.

[3] The editor does not know whence this is quoted; but L'Estrange may probably have referred to the 9th canon of the eleventh council of Toledo, held in 675, which contains these words: "Ne indiscretæ præsumptionis motibus agitati, aut quod morte plectendum est sententia propria judicare præsumant, aut truncationes quaslibet membrorum quibuslibet personis aut per se inferant aut inferendas præcipiant."—Concil. Labb. et Coss. Paris, 1671, t. vi. col. 549.

[4] The quotation from the "Observations," 224-5, is here resumed.

of the Bishops,' in which their privileges were asserted, as to that particular. But they, not willing to contend in a business which seemed so little to concern them, or else not able to strive against the present stream, which seemed to carry all before it, suffered themselves to be excluded at that time, without protesting to the contrary, or interposing in defence of their ancient rights. And this I look on as the first degree 189
of their humiliation; for when it was perceived that a business of so great consequence might be done in parliament without their counsel and consent, it opened a wide gap unto their adversaries; first, to deprive them of their votes, and after to destroy even the calling itself. But this was not the main point which the Commons aimed at; they were resolved to have a close committee to take examination in the business of the Earl of Strafford, and were not willing any Bishops should be of it; for fear lest, favouring the Earl's cause or person, they might discover any part of those secret practices which were had against him, and thereby fortify and prepare him for his just defence, when the cause should come unto a trial." Thus far the Doctor writ of this subject, when he lived in Lacye's Court in Abingdon. What he presented to the Bishops themselves at the time of Strafford's trial, concerning the right of Peerage, deserved a rare commendation, especially at that conjuncture of time, that he could command his parts and pen of a sudden to write on this subject, or any other, if 190
there was need, that did conduce to the public good either of Church or State; and above all, make a quick dispatch in accomplishing what he had once undertaken and begun—a virtue for which Q. Curtius praiseth Alexander, among other excellent qualities, *Nullam virtutem Regis istius, magis quam celeritatem*

laudaverim[1], "I can commend no virtue more in this [1640]
King than speed." So Lucan, of Cæsar—

Nam Cæsar in omnia præceps
Nil actum credens, si quid superesset agendum[2].

64. But for those quick dispatches, the Doctor endured many tedious waitings at the backs of committee-men in that parliament, especially in the business of Mr Pryn, about his *Histrio-mastix;* for which he was kept four days under examination, because he had furnished the Lords of the Privy Council with matters out of that book[3], which Mr Pryn alleged was the cause of all his sufferings, "having joined him in a petition with the Lord Archbishop, as the chief agents and contrivers of the troubles he had undergone[4]."
91 Great hopes had the committee, by his often dancing attendance after them, to sift the Doctor, if they could gather any thing by his speeches, whether the Archbishop had moved him him to draw up those exceptions against Pryn's book; which he denied, or at least was not bound to confess: for, as he was faithful to his Sovereign, so he would never prove himself unfaithful to his chief minister both in Church and State. For they would have been glad of any matter to put into their charge against that worthy Prelate, against whom Mr Pryn and others of his enemies never ceased prosecuting, till the parliament took off his head: and the axe, having once tasted of blood, had a keen appetite for more, went on afterwards to the supreme head of all.

65. Whilst the Doctor was thus harassed before the committees, his old friend the Bishop of Lincoln, in great favour with them and the whole parliament, was set at liberty from his imprisonment[5], and returned

[1] III. iii. 1. [2] Pharsal. ii. 656-7. [3] Sup. p. lxxxv.
[4] Extran. Vap. 56. *A.* [Certam. Epist. 327.]
[5] Nov. 1640.—Hackett, ii. 138.

from the Tower to the Church, (after so long a time of his suspension and indevotion), to say his prayers, and hear his brother Peter Heylyn preach in his course at the abbey in Westminster; when, notwithstanding 192
the holiness of that place,—(to which his Lordship had no regard or reverence, but only to the name and thing[1] of it)—he was resolved publicly to revenge himself for old-done deeds, that ought to have been forgotten, by disturbing the Doctor in his Sermon before all the congregation, contrary to the laws of this realm, and, (with reverence to his Lordship,) against all good manners and the common rules of civility.

> Mala meus furorque vecors
> In tantam impulerit.... culpam[2].—Cat.

66. Strange! that a Bishop could not rule his passions for one hour, when no provocation was given by the Doctor, whose Sermon from the beginning to the end of it, throughout the whole discourse, was pacificatory, exhorting Christians to moderation, love, and charity among themselves, for the preservation of the public peace, although they differed in some opinions. For satisfaction of the reader, I will set down the Doctor's own words, viz.[3]

"Is it not that we are so affected with our own opinions, that we condemn whosoever shall opine the contrary? and so far wedded to our own wills, that, 193
when we have espoused a quarrel, neither the love of God, nor the God of love shall divorce us from it? Instead of hearkening to the voice of the Church, every man hearkens to himself, and cares not if the whole miscarry, so that himself may bravely carry out his own devices. Upon which stubborn height of pride,

[1] An allusion to the title of Williams's pamphlet, "The Holy Table, Name and Thing."

[2] Catull. [xv. 14.] *A.*

[3] Some emendations are introduced from the copy in Vernon, 1146.

what quarrels have been raised! What schisms in every corner of this our Church!—(to inquire no further):—some rather putting all into open tumult, than that they would conform to a lawful government, derived from Christ and his Apostles to these very times." At the speaking of which words, the Bishop of Lincoln, sitting in the great pew, (which was before the seat of contention[1]) knocked aloud with his staff upon the pulpit, saying, "No more of that point, no more of that point, Peter." To whom the Doctor readily answered, without hesitation or the least sign of being dashed out of countenance—"I have a little more to say, my Lord, and then I have done." Which was as followeth, viz.: "Others combining[2] into close and dangerous factions, because some points of specu- [1640]
194 lative divinity are otherwise maintained by some than they would have them: all so[3] regardless of the common peace, that, rather than be quiet, we will quarrel with our blessed Peace-maker, for seeking to compose the differences, though to the prejudice of neither party. Thus do we foolishly divide our Saviour, and rent his sacred body on the least occasion; vainly[4] conceiving that a difference in a point of judgment must needs draw after it a disjoining of the affections[5] also, and that conclude at last in an open schism. Whereas diversity of opinions, if wisely managed, would rather tend to the discovery of the truth than the disturbance of the Church, and rather whet our industry than excite our passions. It was St Cyprian's resolution, *Neminem, licet aliter*[6] *senserit, a communione amovere*[7], 'Not

[1] Sup. p. cii.
[2] Barn. "coming."
[3] Barn. "also."
[4] Barn. "rarely."
[5] Vern. "disjointing of the affection."
[6] Barn. "alicui."
[7] "Neminem judicantes, aut a jure communicationis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes." These words are from the judgment of a Council held under St Cyprian; the differences of opinion which are

[1640] to suspend any man from the communion of the Church' —although the matter then debated was, (as I take it), of more weight than any of the points now controverted. Which moderation if the present age had attained unto, we had not then so often torn the Church in pieces, nor by our frequent broils offered that injury and inhumanity to our Saviour's body, which was not offered to his garments [by those that crucified him]."

67. At this, and all the other parts of his Sermon, 195
the auditory was highly pleased, but the Bishop in so great wrath that his voice, and the noise of his pastoral staff, (if I may so call it), had like[1] to have frighted the whole flock or congregation out of the fold. Considering the ill posture of affairs in which the nation then stood, overflowing with seditions and schisms,—*Navem reipublicæ fluitantem in alto tempestatibus seditionum et discordiarum*[2], as Tully once said—I think a more seasonable Sermon could not have been preached, to move men of different persuasions unto peace and unity one with another, which is a most Christian doctrine. After the Sermon was ended[3], he took Sir

mentioned related to the question of rebaptizing persons who had received baptism without the Church.—Cypr. Opp. p. 329, ed. Paris, 1726.

[1] Ed. "liked."

[2] Cic. pro Sextio, c. xx.

[3] Heylyn's own account of the sequel may be given here, from the *Extraneus Vapulans*, 51, seqq.

"No sooner was [Dr Heylyn] brought back to his stall, but the Bishop, calling one Dr Wilson, (another of the Prebendaries,) to bear witness of that which passed between them, required the Doctor to deliver a copy of the sermon by him preached; to which the Doctor cheerfully yielded, and presently gave his Lordship the whole book of Sermons which he had then with him....The same day, as they came from the evening service, the Bishop sent one of his gentlemen to desire the Subdean, Dr Wilson, and Dr Heylyn to come to his lodging: to which it was answered, openly and in a full cloister, by Dr Heylyn, that he would not go; that he would meet his Lordship in either of the houses of parliament, or any of the courts of Westminster Hall, or the public chapter-house of the church, and would there answer anything he could charge him with; but that he would never shuffle up a business in the Bishop's

Robert Filmore[1], his learned friend, with some other gentlemen of quality that were his auditors, out of the church along with him to his house; where he imme- [1640]

lodging, or take a private satisfaction for a public baffle. Scarce had he put off his church vestments, when his most honoured friends the Lord Bishop of Peterborough [Dr Towers, Sup. p. cviii.] and Sir Robert Filmer, (who had heard all that passed before), came to spend an hour with him; and not long after comes the Subdean from the Bishop of Lincoln, with the book of Sermons, assuring him that the Bishop meant him nothing but well, that he had read none of the sermons but that which had been preached that morning, that he professed himself much beholding to him for committing into his hands so great a trust, and finally, that, since the Doctor would not come to receive the book, he had sent it to him. To which the Doctor made reply that the book was taken from him in the sight of hundreds, and that he would not otherwise receive it, than either in the same place, or a place more public; that therefore he should carry back the book to him that sent it, to the end that he might read over all the rest of the sermons, and pick out of them what he could to the Doctor's disadvantage ..... and, finally, that he was more ashamed of the poorness of this prostitution than at the insolencies of the morning; which being the best answer that the Subdean could at that time obtain from him, he threw the book into the room, and so went his way..... Understanding what reports had been spread abroad—some saying that the Bishop interrupted him for preaching against the Scots (some of whose commissioners were then present,)—others, for preaching in defence of transubstantiation, and others for Arminianism, and I know not what,—he gave an account thereof to the King, and then transcribed a copy of the whole passage, and sent it to Mr John White of the Temple, whom he had observed to be at the sermon, desiring him to communicate it at the next sitting of the committee..... It was declared by the unanimous voice of all present, that there was nothing in that passage which it did not become an honest man to speak, and a good Christian to hear; and not so only, but that the Bishop was transported beyond his bounds, and failed in his accustomed prudence."—59-63. [See below, p. cxxxv.]

The narrative goes on to state that the Subdean, finding Heylyn in the abbey-orchard, asked him on behalf of the Bishop to go to him; that he went, and, "after some friendly expostulations on the one side, and honest defences on the other, they came by little and little unto better terms; and at the last to that familiarity and freedom of discourse as seemed to have no token in it of the old displeasures—the Bishop in conclusion accompanying the Doctor out of the gallery, commanding one of his servants to light him home, and not to leave him till he had brought him to the very door."—63-5.

[1] Author of *Patriarcha*. See Heylyn's Dedication of *Certamen Epistolare*, Part III., to his son, Sir Edmund Filmer, 207-9.

[1640–1] diately sealed up the book that contained this Sermon and other notes, to which they also set their seals, that so there might not be the least alteration made in the Sermon, nor any ground to suspect it. Which was presently after sent to the Bishop, who kept it in his hands for some days. In which time his passions 196
allayed, being more calm at home than in the church; sent the book untouched back again to Dr Heylyn; in whose study it had lain dormant for the space of fifteen years, when,—(the danger of an old Sermon being called in question must needs be over)—by my persuasion and his consent, he was pleased to give me leave to open that apocalyptical book, that I might read and see the mystery that lay hid under the seals for so many years. Which indeed only proved a pious and practical Sermon for edification, to moderate the heats of those fiery spirits that were like to make a combustion in the whole kingdom. The Bishop deserved a sharper rebuke for his own Sermon which about that time he preached before the King, when he made a strange apostrophe from his text to the Sabbath, falling down upon his knees in the pulpit at the middle of his Sermon, beseeching his Majesty in most earnest and humble manner, "that greater care might be taken for the better observation of the Sabbath-day." Which was looked upon by many as a piece of most grand hypocrisy, who knew his opinion well 197
by his practice; for he did ordinarily play at bowls on Sundays, after evening service, shot with bows and arrows, and used other exercises and recreations according to his Lordship's pleasure. Nay, more than all this, as the Doctor informs us in his Animadversions on the Church History of Britain[1], "he caused

[1] Exam. Hist. i. 243. *A.*

a comedy to be acted before him at his house at Bugden[1], not only on a Sunday in the afternoon, but upon such a Sunday also on which he had publicly given sacred orders both to Priests and Deacons; and to this comedy he invited the Earl of Manchester, and divers others of the neighbouring gentry; though, on this turning of the tide, he did not only cause these Doctors to be condemned for some opinions which formerly himself allowed of, but moved at the assembly in Jerusalem-chamber[2], that all books should be publicly burnt which had disputed the morality of the Lord's-day-sabbath." But the Bishop, now restored [Nov. 1640] to his dignity by means of that unhappy parliament, with whom he was in high favour, expected that Dr
198 Heylyn should have submitted himself to his Lordship, and particularly acknowledge his error in putting out the *Antidotum Lincolniense*, which he commended[3] him to call in; to which the Doctor replied, that he received his Majesty's royal command for the writing and printing of that book, in which he had asserted nothing but what he was still ready to justify and defend against the opposers of it[4]. And how could

[1] Hackett, ii. 37, defends Williams for having had a comedy acted by his household, and alleges the example of Archbishop Bancroft; but he takes no notice of the points for the sake of which the matter was brought forward by Heylyn—(1) that the performance at Buckden was on a Sunday; (2) that hence there is ground for suspecting the sincerity of Williams in the course which he afterwards took.

[2] The sub-committee for reformation of religion which sat in 1641, under the presidency of Williams.—Collier, viii. 202.

[3] Altered from "commanded," on the authority of the list of errata.

[4] "'Tis worthy of remark, that, although both of them were at so wide a distance in the prosperous condition of the Church, yet there was a closure made when the heavy storm fell upon it. For a motion being offered by Dr Newell, but coming originally from the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr Heylyn, with the privity of the Archbishop, paid the respects of a visit to his Lordship at his lodging in Westminster, where he met rather with a ceremonious than a kind reception. A short recapitulation there was made of some past differences between them, and a proposal for

[1640] it be imagined otherwise, but he would vindicate his own writings? For men of known learning and integrity, satisfied with the truth and right of their cause, it's impossible to bring them over to a retractation against their own conscience. The case ran thus betwixt St Jerome the Presbyter, and St Augustin the Bishop—*Hortaris me ut παλινῳδίαν super quodam Apostoli capitulo canam: absit. ... unusquisque abundet suo sensu*[1].

[Jan. 1640—1] 68. No sooner was the Doctor out of the pulpit, but he must come again before the chair of the old committee, to answer unto new articles that Mr Pryn had drawn up against him; more especially for a sermon that he had preached many years ago[2]; which Mr Pryn (who had then ears) heard himself, and 199
brought along with him some other auditors, a company of the rabble sort[3] to vex him—(*urgeris turba circum te stante*[4])—thrusting and justling the Doctor in the crowd, and railing against him with most vile

atonement of all faults, viz. the calling in of the *Antidotum Lincolniense*, and that too by the King's command. Unto which our Doctor answered, that it was written and published by the King's command, and therefore it was improbable that he would call it in; however, he would try all possible ways to give his Lordship satisfaction; and then presented to him papers about the Peerage of Bishops, which he then read over, and approved. After this there was no more meeting between them, till about a year following the Doctor gave his Lordship a visit in the Tower, which he received so kindly, that for ever after a fair correspondence passed interchangeable between them."—Vern. 116-7.

[1] "Hortaris ... canam. Absit autem a me ut quidquam de libris tuæ Beatitudinis attingere audeam; sufficit enim mihi probare mea, et aliena non carpere. Cæterum optime novit providentia tua, unumquemque in suo sensu abundare."]—Hieron. Ep. [v. 69. T. IV. ii. 608, ed. Martianay, Paris, 1706.] *A.*

[2] "A sermon preached some years before Mr Pryn's censure in the Court of Star-Chamber."—Vernon, 118.

[3] "Mr Pryn, resolving effectually to damnify the Doctor, produced a company of *butchers* to bring in evidence against him, about a sermon formerly preached by him."—Vernon, 119.

[4] Horat. Sat. I. iii. 135.

speeches[1]. To which he made no reply in this sorry condition, but patiently endured all their affronts and injuries; for it was to no purpose to take further notice of an ungoverned multitude—(*non opus est argumentis sed fustibus*[2])—with whom nothing can prevail but club-law. But, contrary to all their expectation, he got the victory of the day, was dismissed with a *quietus est*, by reason of a letter which he had wisely sent before-hand (*ingenium res adversæ nudare solent*[3]) to a leading gentleman of that committee, who was before his most bitter enemy[4], but now, mollified with the letter, he allayed the fury of his brethren. ['Tis true many attempts were made to create him new disturbances, some being employed to make a severe inquisition into his life and manners, which they [1640–1]

[1] An anecdote of this time will be found below, in a note on § 77.

[2] "Non opus est verbis sed fustibus." Cic. in Pisonem, c. xxx.

[3] Horat. Sat. II. viii. 73-4.

[4] "He made choice of one Mr White, the fiercest man in the Committee, to be judge of the affront offered to him [by Bp Williams, when preaching at Westminster Abbey,] desiring him in his letter, 'that he would recommend him to the House of Commons, that they might so far take him into their protection, as might consist with the honour and justice of their House: otherwise he would rather choose to put himself upon their censure for a contempt in not appearing, than be again exposed to the fury of an outrageous people, whose malice is most merciless, because most groundless. That, after he was dismissed from the Committee, he was set upon by the rude and uncivil multitude with thrustings, justlings, spurnings, and, worse than that, with such opprobrious and reviling language, that, as he never endured the like before, so he was confident it would add much to the esteem and reputation of that honourable House, if neither he nor any other honest man do endure it more. And lastly, whereas he was interrupted in his sermon by the Bishop of Lincoln, and thereupon might justly think that there was some strange matter like to follow, which might enforce him to such an unusual course, therefore he intreated him to accept of the whole passage as it should have been spoken, verbatim out of the original copy."—(Vernon, 110-11.) White was a bencher of the Middle Temple, had been one of the feoffees for buying impropriations, and was now member for Southwark. He published in 1643, "The First Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests," and died in Jan. 1644-5.—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 144-6, where it is stated that he was a person of bad moral character.

[1640—1] found too spotless for their spleen and malice. Others engaged his neighbours at Alresford to draw up articles against him, which was accordingly done by two of them and few others of the most inconsiderable inhabitants; who were prevailed on to make their marks (for write they could not) by telling them it was a business in which the town were very much concerned. But when the articles were produced before the committee, they appeared so foolish and frivolous, as not to be deemed worthy of consideration, and upon that were returned to be amended upon a *melius inquirendum;* and this being done in a more correct and enlarged edition, they were again returned to the committee, and a set day was appointed for a hearing; and that being come, the complaint was put off and a copy of the articles delivered to the person accused, together with those newly put in against him by Mr Pryn, collected out of his printed books. But the poor Doctor, being quite tired with business and attendance, obtained leave of the chairman to retire into the country, who freely promised to send a private messenger to him, if there were any occasion for his return. Upon which he removed his study to Alresford, letting his house for no more than £3. a year.][1] And glad was he to be so delivered out of the lion's mouth, telling his friends, that he would now go to Alresford with a purpose never to come back to Westminster whilst these two good friends of his abode in it, viz. the House of Commons and the Lord of Lincoln. Accordingly he hastened down to his family and parishioners, to solace his soul with peace after his so long patience under Westminster troubles. 200

O quid solutis est beatius curis,
Cum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino

[1] Vernon, 118-20.

Labore fessi, venimus larem ad[1] nostrum [1641]
Desideratoque acquiescimus lecto?[2]

That is to say,

O what's more happy than a patient mind,
Loaded with cares and fears, relief to find—
Sore labours first to suffer—then retire
To our own home and bed, the heart's desire?

69. Welcome was he to his parishioners in the country, who always loved him in the time of his prosperity and adversity, because of his affable and courteous behaviour, his hospitality among them, and relief to their poor, his readiness to do his neighbours any kindness, by counsel or other assistance, his constant preaching during all time of his abode with them, and in his absence, when he was called to court, supplied them with an able Curate. He was resolved
201 now to spend his days among them and his parishioners at South-warnborough, where he had the same respect and love.

[About this time it was that Doctor Hackwel[3], taking advantage of the innumerable troubles and enemies of this learned man, published a book against him concerning the Sacrifice of the Eucharist. It was not without some difficulty that he obtained one of them to be sent to him in the country, where he wrote a speedy answer to it. But Dr Hackwel's friends thought fit to call in the book so soon as it came into light, and then our Doctor was easily persuaded to suppress his answer, diverting his studies to more pleasing and no less necessary subjects, namely, "The History of Episcopacy" and "The History of Liturgies." The first was printed presently after it was written, and presented to the King by Mr Secretary Nicholas, and published under the name of Theophilus Churchman; but the

[1] Barn. "ad Larem." [2] Catull. xxix. 7-10. [3] Sup. p. lxxi.

[1642] other, although sent to London and received by the bookseller, was not printed till some years after.][1]

But the good shepherd was soon driven away from his flock by the unhappy wars following; for the seeds of schism and separation amongst the saints, taking root, quickly sprang up into open rebellion, put all into disorder, dispersed families asunder, parted nearest relations, forced people from their houses and ministers out of their churches, necessitated him to fly for his own safety and preservation, (as Elijah persecuted by Ahab). Being sent for by a party of horse, under the command of Sir William Waller[2], to bring him prisoner to Portsmouth, he fairly escaped their hands; but, continually disturbed with new alarms of drums and trumpets sounding about him, he could find no other way of safety like going to Oxford, there to take sanctuary with his brethren the persecuted Clergy, who in the words of the historian, *adversum fortuita aspectu Principis refoveri*[3], "were only comforted with the sight of their Prince in the sad time of their crosses and adversities."

[4][He no sooner arrived, but he received his Majesty's

[1] Vernon, 220-1.

[2] "Sir Will. Waller sent eighty of his soldiers to be quartered at the Doctor's house, with full commission to strip him naked of all that he had. But his fair and affable carriage towards them did so mollify the austerity of their natures, that they quite dismissed all thoughts of violence and revenge. So were Esau's bloody resolutions quite converted into kindness and respect by the humble deportment, as well as noble presents, that were made to him by his brother Jacob. But notwithstanding the diversion of this storm, the reverend man was early the next morning brought before Sir William, by his Provost-Marshal, by whom he was told that he had received commands from the Parliament to seize upon him, and send him prisoner unto Portsmouth. The Doctor had the like privilege with St Paul, being permitted to plead for himself, and by his powerful reasoning did so far prevail upon the General, as to be dismissed in safety."—Vernon, 122-3.

[3] Tacit. [Ann. xv. 36.] *A.*

[4] This paragraph is from Vernon 123—5, who, as has been already

command, by the Clerk of his Closet, to address him- [1642]
self to Mr Secretary Nicholas, from whom he was to take directions for some special and important service; which was at last signified to Dr Heylyn under the King's own hand—viz. to write the weekly occurrences which befell his Majesty's government and armies in the unnatural war that was raised against him. The reverend man was hugely unwilling to undertake the employment, conceiving it not only disagreeable to the dignity and profession that he had in the Church, and directly thwarting his former studies and contemplations; but that by a faithful discharge of his duty in that service he should expose both his family and himself to the implacable malice of those persons whose very mercies were cruelty and blood. But no arguments or intercessions could prevail to have him excused from that employment, at least for some time, till he had made it facile by his own diligence and example. Neither were dangers or difficulties of any moment with him, when the service of his Prince and master required his labours and assistance:—*Discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in*[1] *jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque anxius et intentus agere*[2], is a character as truly applicable to Dr Heylyn, as to the brave Roman of whom it was first written. For he desired no employment out of vain-glory, and re-

mentioned, (p. xxvii.) is blamed by Barnard for relating Heylyn's performances as a "diurnal-maker." Heylyn himself alludes to this employment, but without specifying what it was, in the Postscript to the Quinquarticular History, (Tracts, 637): "At his Majesty's first making choice of Oxon for his winter quarters, *anno* 1642, the cause of my attendance carried me to wait upon him there as a Chaplain-in-ordinary. Where I had not been above a week, when I received his Majesty's command, by the Clerk of the Closet, for attending Mr Secretary Nicholas on the morrow morning, and applying myself to such directions as I should receive from him in order to his Majesty's service," &c.

[1] Vern. "ob." [2] Tacit. Agric. [5.] Vern.

[1642–4] fused none out of fear, but equally was careful and intent in whatever he undertook; and at that time too when he was denied the poor Deanery of Chichester, for which his Majesty was earnestly importuned in his behalf by Mr Secretary Nicholas. The weekly occurrences that were wrote by him he called by the name of *Mercurius Aulicus*[1], which name continued as long as the cause did for which it was written. And besides these weekly tasks, influenced by the same royal commands, he wrote divers other treatises, before he could obtain his *quietus est* from that ungrateful employment, viz. 1st, A Relation of the Lord Hopton's Victory at Bodmin; 2nd, A View of the Proceedings in the West for Pacification; 3rd, A Letter to a Gentleman in Leicestershire about the Treaty; 4th, A Relation of the Queen's Return from Holland, and the Seizing of Newark; 5th, A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir John Gell; 6th, The Black Cross, shewing that the Londoners were the cause of the recent Rebellion; with some others that were never printed.]

70. [These zealous services produced the very same effect that he foresaw when he first undertook them.][2] The news of his flying to Oxford quickly took 202
wings to the old committee in London, who forthwith voted him a delinquent, [this being given for a reason, viz. that he resided and lived at Oxon][2]; and sent down an order for sequestration of all his goods and chattels. And first they fetched away his library, (for they thought he was too great a scholar), the plunder of which he took deeply to heart, and ever accounted it the greatest of his losses: for nothing is dearer to

[1] Vern. "Anglicus." The paper had been "begun by John Birkenhead, [afterwards knighted,] who pleased the generality of readers with his waggeries and buffooneries far more than Heylyn."—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 556.

[2] Vern. 125—6.

a good scholar than books, that to part with them [1643—4]
goes as much against his nature and genius as to lose his life; for he spendeth his days wholly in them, and thinketh that a horrible night of ignorance, worse than Egyptian darkness, would overshadow the world without their learning. *Omnia jacerent in tenebris*, saith Cicero, *nisi literarum lumen accederet*[1]. Yet neither had he suffered the loss of his library nor household goods so suddenly as he did, but for Colonel Norton, his neighbour, a gentleman of the parliament party; by whose command his soldiers seized on all that he had in Alresford, for the use of the parliament, (as they pretended), but sold as they passed along to any chapman, at inconsiderable rates, Robin Hood's penny-
203 worths, what they had a mind to; some of which goods his honest neighbours bought on purpose to restore them again to him, except the best of his hangings, beds, and other costly furniture, which with his plate Colonel Norton[2] took to his own use, as the Doctor

[1] Pro Archia, 14; Barn. "accenderet."

[2] "Before he left Alresford, he took care to hide some of his choicest and most costly goods, designing the first opportunity to have them conveyed to Oxon. But either by ill luck, or the treachery and baseness of some of his neighbours, the cart with all the goods were taken by part of Norton's horse and carried to Portsmouth; himself also violently pursued, and by divine providence delivered from the snare of the fowlers, who thirsted after his blood, and lay in wait for his life. The cart with all in it was carried to Southampton, and delivered unto Norton (Saintship then being the groundwork of propriety as it afterwards was of sovereignty); a loss great in itself, but much more so to a divine, and chiefly to be ascribed to a Colonel in the King's army, who denied to send a convoy of horse for the guarding of his goods, although the Marquess of Newcastle gave order for it. And these oppressions which he suffered from his enemies were increased by as unjust proceedings of those who ought to have been his friends. For part of the royal army defaced his parsonage-house at Alresford, making it unhabitable, and taking up all the tithes; for which he never had the least satisfaction, unless it was the manumission of himself from the troublesome employment under Mr Secretary Nicholas; and at his going off, at the request of that worthy gentleman, he wrote a little book called the *Rebel's Catechism*."—Vern, 127-8.

[1644] was informed. His books carried away to Portsmouth; many of them were sold by the way, as folios for a flagon of ale a-piece, which some of his good parishioners bought of the soldiers, that the right owner might come to them again. The carters and such fellows as were employed in the carriage of his library and household goods were paid off in books instead of money; for the parliament soldiers loved that, as they hated learning: yet notwithstanding the books were so embezzled and wasted by them, they were appraised at near a thousand pound[1], and put into a public library, from whence they could never be redeemed.

71. After the loss of them, those Sabeans drove away his goods and chattels, they seized upon his corn and hay; for immediately, by order of the committee, the tithes of both his livings were sequestered, 204
and the profits of his Prebendary in Westminster, and what temporal estate he had within their reach, taken from him: that, being asked by one of his acquaintance how he lived? he answered him readily—"By horse-flesh and old leather:" which seeming a riddle, he explained afterward his meaning—That he saved only his coach and horses, which brought him to Oxford, which he was forced to sell, and live upon the money. But that being spent—*non ætherea vescitur aura*[2], as the poet said,—he could not live like a chameleon, upon the air; he must find out some way of subsistence for himself and family. And that was first of all to live upon credit, which seldom holdeth long without an estate to support it; and afterward upon the charity of friends, which is shorter lived: for the heat of that love soon groweth cold. Being put to hard straits that he never knew before, *indocilis pau-*

[1] In Extran. Vapul. 50, he values his books at "a thousand pounds at the least."

[2] Virg. Æn. i. 546-7: "Si vescitur aura ætherea."

periem pati[1], he must now learn a new lesson, how to shift [1644—5]
in the world for a mere livelihood. And more miser-
able he was, that, having been master of a plentiful
205 and noble estate, £800. per annum in ecclesiastical pre-
ferments, as he tells us himself, besides his own tem-
poral estate[2], the wheel of fortune should bring such
a sudden alteration, to turn him down from the top
of her to the bottom, as to be in so low and poor
a condition that he might justly complain of her, with
the man in the tragedy—

> Quid me, potens fortuna, fallaci mihi
> Blandita vultu, sorte contentum mea
> Alte extulisti, gravius ut ruerem?[3]

May be Englished thus:

> Why, powerful fortune, dost thou frown and smile,
> With thy deceitful looks me to beguile
> Of my content? Thou sett'st me up on high
> To throw me down in deeper misery.

72. Yet now he is but in the beginning of his mis-
fortunes, and he hath a long race to run through them
with patience. Not being able to maintain himself and
family in Oxford, he sent his wife to London, to get
what money she could amongst her nearest friends and
relations. Himself went out of Oxford anno Dom. 1645,
206 walking as a poor traveller in the country, not knowing
well whither he should go, *Ego hercle nescio, quorsum
eam: ita prorsum oblitus sum mei. Quo me miser con-
feram*[4]. Disguised both in his name and habit, he
sometimes went under the name of Barker, at other
times took the name of Harding, by which he was
well known among his friends, and not discovered by
his enemies: his habit changed from a Priest to a

[1] Horat. Carm. I. i. 18.
[2] Extran. Vapul. [50.] *A.*
[3] Senec. Octav. [ii. 379—81.] *A.*
[4] Terent. Eunuch. II. iii. [14.] *A.*

[1645] layman, and in the likeness usually of an honest countryman, or else of a poor decayed gentleman, as indeed he was. The peril of the times made him such a Proteus in his garb, because the parliament was resolved, if they could take him, that he should follow his good Lord of Canterbury to another world than that described in his Cosmography; but he happily outlived most of them, and died in honour, which they did not. He wandered like a Jew, with a groat in his purse, and sometimes without it, till he got to some good friend's house.

73. At his first setting out he was betrayed by a zealous she-Puritan, one Mrs Munday, at her house in Oxfordshire. Her husband was a true-hearted cavalier, 207
unto whose protection he committed himself: he being one day gone from home, she, saint-like, unfaithful to her husband and his friend, sent intelligence to some parliament soldiers that there was a cavalier Doctor in her house. Of which he had notice given him by two of her husband's sisters, who hated her pure qualities; that, as soon as the family was all in bed, he went out at a back door, down a pair of garden-stairs, from whence he took his march that night, (*Factum est peric'lum, jam pedum visa est via*[1], as Phormio said) made what haste he could, and by the help of God Almighty and the good stars, he got safely to another friend's house by morning: at which time the soldiers beset Mrs Munday's house, as the countrymen did the mountain; but the *Cathedral rat*—(as they then called him and the dignified Clergy)—was run away, that Mrs Munday's plot with the soldiers proved a silly fable. Ever after the Doctor observed it for a rule, never to come within the doors of a holy sister, whose house may be compared to that which Solomon de-

[1] Terent. Phorm. II. ii. 12.

208 scribeth, "Is the way to hell, going down to the [1645]
chambers of death[1];" that, had not divine Providence protected him from the treachery of that base woman, he had fallen into the hands of those Nimrods that hunted after his life. From place to place he shifted, like the old travels of the patriarchs; and in pity to his necessity found a hearty entertainment amongst his friends of the royal party, at whose tables he was fed, for he had none of his own. His children disposed of into several friends' hands; his wife among her relations; himself depending upon the courtesy both of friends and strangers, till he grew weary and tired out with this kind of life, for *vilis amicorum est annona*[2].

74. It pleased God afterward to send him some supplies of money, that he settled himself, wife, and eldest daughter at Winchester, in the house of a right honest man, one Mr Lizard, with whom they tabled a good while: where he had a comfortable time of breathing and rest after his former troubles, and, to his heart's delight, the sweet enjoyment and conversation with loyal persons; for Winchester was then a
209 strong garrison for the King; and, being near Alresford, he would go sometimes in disguise to visit his old neighbours, whom he knew were true and faithful to him.

[And[3] yet even now the exuberancy of an honest zeal—(that I may use his own words, though upon another occasion,)—carried him rather to the maintenance of his brethren's and the Church's cause than to the preservation of his own peace and particular concernments. And therefore, considering unto what a deplorable condition the poor loyal Clergy were

[1] Prov. vii. 27.
[2] Horat. Epist. I. xii. 24. "Est amicorum," Barn.
[3] Inserted from Vernon, 131-8.

[1646] reduced—how they were "hungry and thirsty, and their souls ready to faint in them,"—as also how the parliament were about to establish those Presbyterian ministers for term of life in those livings out of which himself and many others were ejected, he drew up some considerations, and presented them to some members of the House of Commons, to see whether he could move them to any Christian charity and compassion: and, accordingly as this reverend person foretold, so it came to pass. For, when the Presbyterian intruders were settled in the benefices of the sequestered Clergy for term of life, although the commissioners for rejecting of scandalous ministers had power to grant a fifth part, together with the arrears thereof, to the ejected Clergy, yet the bill was clogged with two such circumstances as made it unuseful to some, and but a little beneficial to the rest. For, first, it was ordered that no man should receive any benefit by the bill who had either £30. *per annum* in real, or £500. in personal estate; by means whereof many, who had formerly £500. yearly to maintain their families, were tied up to so poor a pittance as would hardly keep their children from begging in the open streets. And, 2ndly, there was such a power given to the commissioners, that, not exceeding the fifth part, they might give to the poor sequestered Clergy as much and as little as they pleased, under that proportion. And the Doctor[1] instances one of his certain knowledge, who for an arrear of twelve years out of a benefice, rented formerly for £250. *per annum*, obtained but £3. 6*s*. 8*d*.—(the first intruder being then alive, and possessed of that benefice,)—and no more than 20 marks *per annum* for his future subsistence; which is but a *nineteenth* part, instead of a *fifth*.]

[1] Exam. Hist. i. 111 [whence much of this paragraph is derived]. Vern.

But those halcyon days quickly vanished (as seldom [1646]
prosperity continues so long a time as adversity); for
that town, and castle especially, which was thought
invincible to be taken by force of arms, was most
treacherously delivered up to their enemies in three
days' time. And now, every house full of soldiers
quartered amongst them, poor Dr Heylyn was in more
danger than ever, had not Mr Lizard took care of
him as his dearest guest, and hid him in a private
room (as Providence ordained) to save his life; which
room was supposed to have been made formerly for
the hiding of seminary Priests and Jesuits, because
the house heretofore belonged to a papist family.
And indeed it was so cunningly contrived that there
was no door to be seen, nor entering into it but
behind an old bed's-head; and if the bed had not
been there, the door was so neatly made like the
other wainscot of the chamber, that it was impossible
210 for a stranger to find it out. In which room, instead
of a Papist, a right protestant Doctor, who was a
professed enemy both to Popery and Puritanism, was
now secured from the rage and violence of the soldiers,
who sought after him with no less eagerness than if
he had been a heretic followed by the Spanish Inqui-
sition, when he, good man, was in the very next room
to them, adjoining to the dining-chamber, where he
could hear all their raillery and mirth, their gaming
at cards and dice; for those idle lurdanes spent their
time only in riot and pleasure at home, and when
they went abroad, they would tread the maze near
the town. He took his opportunity on the market-
day to put on his travelling robes, with a long staff
in his hand, and so walked out of the town confidently
with the country crowd, bidding adieu to the *conclave*
or little room, that he left for the next distressed

[1646-7] gentleman; in the mean while his wife and daughter he intrusted to Mr Lizard's care, his faithful friend.

75. And now he must again seek his fortune, which proved more kind to him than she did before; yet he met with a hard adventure not many miles 211
from Winchester, where some straggling soldiers lighting on him, and catching hold of his hand, felt a ring under his glove, which through haste of his escape he forgot to pull off; which no sooner discovered, but they roughly swore he was some runaway cavalier. The ring being hard to get off, the poor Doctor willingly helped them; in which time came galloping by some of the Parliament's scouts, who said to their fellow-soldiers, "Look to yourselves, the cavaliers are coming!" at which words being affrighted, they took that little money that was in his pocket, and so rid away without further search; and he, good man, jogged on to the next friend's house, with some pieces of gold that he had hid in his high shoes, which, if the rogues had not been so hastily frighted away, would have been undoubtedly found, and might have cost him his life by further suspicions of him,—as it did the poor Jews, (though not in the same manner), at the siege of Jerusalem; who, flying from their city, fell into a worse calamity, by one of them swallowing gold, hid it in his belly, which he was afterward seen 212
to take out of his dung when he exonerated himself; that caused the ripping up several of their bellies, according to Josephus[1]. Had the Doctor been then apprehended by the soldiers, and sent up prisoner to London, or could they have taken him at any time, he had intelligence from a friend in the House of Commons that the Parliament designed to deprive him of his life, in revenge of the punishment inflicted

[1] De Bell. Jud. vi. 15. *A.*

upon Pryn, who, for his seditious libels written against the King and Church, was sentenced not only to lose his ears, but was stigmatized also upon his left cheek with the letter S. to signify he was a schismatic[1]. Whence Cant, the zealous preacher at Glasgow[2], prayed to God after his sermon "to take away the King's idolatry," and said, that "the dear saints in England had their nose and their ears slit for the profession of the gospel[3]." The Parliament then might pretend the revenge of Mr Pryn's sufferings by a retaliation of a worse punishment upon Dr Heylyn; but the real cause that exasperated them was the good Doctor's loyalty to his King and fidelity to his Archbishop,
213 the two great pillars of the Church, to whom all true sons of the Church of England ought to be faithful. And finally, the many books the Doctor had written, and still likely to write more, against the Puritan faction, was the grand cause of all his flights and sufferings in the time of war.

> Est fuga dicta mihi, non est fuga dicta libellis.
> Qui Domini pœnam non meruere sui[4].
>
> Though I am forc'd to fly, my books they are not fled:
> No reason for my sake they should be punished.

[1] He was sentenced to be branded on both cheeks with the letters S.L., which Heylyn, Cyp. Ang. 334, explains as signifying *Schismatic Libeller;* but the real meaning was, no doubt, that given by Rushworth, ii. 382, *Seditious Libeller.*

[2] Cant's sermon is quoted by Lysim. Nicanor as preached at Glasgow; he himself, however, was not stationed in that city, but in a country parish of Aberdeenshire, and afterwards in the town of Aberdeen.

[3] ["The epistle congratulatory of] Lysimachus Nicanor [of the Society of Jesu, to the Covenanters of Scotland; wherein is paralleled our sweet correspondency in divers material points of doctrine and practice," Oxf. 1640.] p. 43. *A.* ["This work has been often attributed to Dr Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down and Connor, and to Dr Maxwell, Bishop of Ross; but little doubt can be entertained that it was written by John Corbet, Minister of Bonhill, in the Lennox. This clergyman sought refuge in Ireland from the enmity of the Covenanters, and was there murdered by the Romish insurgents."—Note in Gordon's Memoirs of Scots Affairs, published by the Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1841, vol. i. p. 8.]

[4] Ovid. Trist. III. xiv. 9-10.

[1648] 76. At what friend's house he was now secured from danger, though I have heard it named, indeed I have forgot; but from thence he travelled to Doctor Kingsmil, a loyal person of great worth and ancient family, where he continued, and sent for his wife and daughter from Winchester to him; and from thence removed to Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, the pleasant seat of his elder brother, in the year anno Dom. 1648, 214
which he farmed of his nephew Colonel Heylyn for six years. Being deprived of his ecclesiastical preferments, he must think of some honest way for a livelihood.

Fruges lustramus et agros
Ritus ut a prisco traditus extat avo[1].

77. Yet notwithstanding he followed his studies, which was his chief delight; for though the usurped powers had silenced his tongue from preaching, they could not withhold his pen from writing, and that in as acute and as sharp a style as formerly, after he had done with his frequent visits of friends and long perambulations. For the public good of the Church, to uphold her ancient maintenance by tithes, being robbed then of all her other dues and dignities,—though himself was sequestered of both his livings, and made incapable of receiving any benefit by tithes—yet for the common cause of Christianity, and in mere compassion of the presbyterian Clergy, (though his professed enemies), he published at that time, (when tithes were in danger to be taken away from them), an excellent little tract[2], to undeceive the people in the point of 215
tithes; and proveth therein, that no man in the realm

[1] Tibull. [ii. 1-2.] *A.* [Barn. reads "ævo."]

[2] Afterwards included in the "Ecclesia Vindicata," and reprinted in the folio of Tracts, 1681. It was published, says Heylyn, "under the name of *Ph. Treleinie*, the letters of my own name being transposed into that, in the way of an anagram. What benefit redounded by it unto some, what satisfaction unto others, I had rather thou shouldst hear elsewhere than expect from me."—Tracts, 165.

of England payeth any thing of his own toward the maintenance of his parish minister but his Easter offerings[1]. [1648-52]

78. At the same time he enlarged his book of Geography into a large folio, which was before but a little quarto, and entituled it with the name of Cosmography[2];

[1] Tracts, 171-4.

[2] In the Preface, after stating that he had been induced to write this work by the importunities of persons "of such different interesses, that I wondered how they could all centre upon the same proposal," he goes on to say—"And here I cannot but remember a pretty accident that befel me in the month of January, anno 1640, at what time it had been my ill fortune to suffer under some misapprehensions which had been entertained against me, and to be brought before the committee for the courts of justice, on the complaint of Mr Prynne,—then newly returned from his confinement, and in great credit with the vulgar. Heard by them I confess I was with a great deal of ingenuous patience; but most despitefully reviled and persecuted with excessive both noise and violence by such as thronged about the doors of that committee, to expect the issue; it being as natural to many weak and inconsiderate men as it is to dogs, to bark at those they do not know, and to accompany each other in those kinds of clamours. And, though I had the happiness to come off clear, without any censure, and to recover by degrees, amongst knowing men, that estimation which before had been much endangered, yet such as took up matters upon trust and hearsay, looked on me as a person forfeited, and marked out for ruin. Amongst others, I was then encountered in my passage from Westminster to Whitehall by a tall big gentleman, who, thrusting me rudely from the wall, and looking over his shoulder in a scornful manner, said in an hoarse voice these words—*Geography is better than Divinity*,—and so passed along. Whether his meaning were, that I was a better geographer than divine, or that geography had been a study of more credit and advantage to me in the eyes of men than divinity was like to prove, I am not able to determine. But sure I am, I have since thought very often of it; and that the thought thereof had its influence on me, in drawing me to look back on those younger studies, in which I was resolved to have dealt no more, and thereto in the Preface to my *Microcosm* had obliged myself." In the same Preface he tells the following story: "A servant of my elder brother's, sent by him with some horses to Oxon, to bring me and a friend of mine unto his house, having lost his way as we passed through the forest of Whichwood, and not able to recover any beaten tract, did very earnestly entreat me to lead the way, till I had brought him past the woods to the open fields. Which when I had refused to do, as I had good reason, alleging that I never had been there before, and therefore that I could not tell which way to lead him—'That's strange,' said he; 'I have heard my old master, your father,

[1648-53] of which it may be truly said, it does contain a world of learning in it, as well as the description of the world, and particularly sheweth the author's most excellent abilities, not only in history, and smoothness of its style that maketh the whole book delightful to the reader, but in chronology, genealogy, and heraldry; in which last any one may see that he could blazon the arms and describe the descent and pedigree of the greatest families in Europe. In which pleasing study while he spent his time, his good wife, a discreet and active lady, looked both after her housewifery within doors and the husbandry without; thereby freeing him from that care and trouble which otherwise would have hindered his laborious pen from going through so great a work in so 216
short a time. And yet he had several divertisements by company, which continually resorted to his house; for, having (God be thanked!) his temporal estate cleared from sequestration, by his composition with the Commissioners at Goldsmiths' Hall[1], and this estate which he farmed besides, he was able to keep a good house, and relieve his poor brethren, as himself had found relief from others' charity; that his house was the sanctuary of sequestered men turned out of their livings, and of several ejected fellows out of Oxford,—more particularly of some worthy persons I can name, as Dr Allibone[2], Mr Levit[3], Mr Thornton, Mr Ashwell, who wrote

say, that you had made a book of all the world, and cannot you find your way out of the wood?' Which being spoken out of an honest simplicity, not out of any pretence to wit, or the least thought of putting a blunt jest upon me, occasioned a great deal of merriment for a long time."

[1] 1645. "But he has left no memorial of what he paid to those insatiable leeches and oppressors."—Vernon, 141. "Being at the siege at Oxon, he shared with the Royalists in the common benefit of those Articles that were made at the surrender of that city [June 1645. See Wood, Hist. and Antiq. ii. 484-5]; and by that means saved his life as well as his estate."—Vern. 141-2.

[2] See p. lxiv. [3] See p. li.

upon the Creed[1],—who would stay for two or three [1648-53]
months at his house; or any other acquaintance that were suffering men, he cheerfully received them, and with a hearty welcome they might tarry as long as they pleased. The Doctor himself modestly speaks of his own hospitality, how many (that were not domestics) had eaten of his bread and drunk of his cup[2].

217 79. A virtue highly to be praised, and most worthy of commendation in itself; for which Tacitus giveth this character of the old Germans, *Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget*[3]*:* "Greater hospitality," saith he, "and entertainment no nation shewed more bountifully, accounting it as a cursed thing not to be civil in that kind according to every man's ability; and when all was spent, the good master of the house would lead his guest to the next neighbour's house, where he, though not invited, was made welcome with the like courtesy." Among others kindly entertained, Mr Marchamont Needham[4], then a zealous Loyalist and scourge

[1] "*Fides Apostolica*, or a Discourse asserting the received Authors and Authority of the Apostles' Creed," Oxf. 1653; Wood, Ath. Oxon. iv. 396. It was at the desire of Ashwell (who was of Wadham College), that Heylyn wrote his "Discourse in answer to the clamour of the Papists," 1644.—Wood, iii. 562.

[2] [L'Estrange having said that "Cosmography was a work very proper for [Heylyn], there being none fitter to describe the world than he who all his life loved the world, none like him:"—a part of the reply is, "I may, perhaps, think fit to tell him, that I am confident as many men (not being domestics) have eaten of the doctor's bread, and drunk of his cup, during the whole time of his constant housekeeping, as ever did of his who objects this to him."]—Extr. Vap. 49-51. *A.*

[3] Tacit. de Mor. Germ. [c. 21.] *A.* [Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto, nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt. Nec interest; pari humanitate accipiuntur.]

[4] Nedham—(for so Wood spells the name)—was, like Heylyn, a native of Burford, and was born in 1620. He had written a scurrilous newspaper, on the popular side, under the title of *Mercurius Britannicus;* but in 1647 attached himself to the royal party, and published a journal entitled *Mercurius Pragmaticus.* He afterwards changed sides again, and advo-

to the Rump Parliament, was sheltered in the Doctor's house, (being violently pursued,) till the storm was over. The good Doctor then, as his tutelar angel, preserved him in a high room, where he continued writing his weekly *Pragmaticus;* yet he afterward, like Balaam the son of Beor, hired with the wages of unrighteousness, corrupted with mercenary gifts and bribes, became the only apostate of the nation, and writ a book for the pretended Commonwealth, (or rather I may say a base democracy,) for which the Doctor could never after 218
endure the mention of his name, who had so disobliged his country and the royal party by his shameful tergiversation.

80. The good Doctor's charity did not only extend itself to ancient friends and acquaintance, but to mere strangers, by whom he had like to run himself into a *præmunire:* for word being carried to him in his study there was a gentleman at the door, who said he was a commander in the King's army, and earnestly desired some relief and harbour; the Doctor presently went to him, and, finding by his discourse and other circumstances what he said was true, received him into his house, and made him very welcome. The gentleman was a Scotch captain, who, having a Scotch diurnal in his pocket, they read it, fearing no harm thereby: but it proved otherwise; for one of the Doctor's servants, listening at the door, went straightway to Oxford, and informed the Governor, Colonel Kelsey, that his master had received letters from the King; whereupon the Governor sent a party of horse to fetch him away. 219
Strange news it was, knowing his own innocency, to hear that soldiers had beset his house so early in the

cated the interest of the Independents in the *Mercurius Politicus*. On the Restoration, he fled to Holland, but in 1661 he obtained a pardon, and returned. "This most seditious, mutable, and railing author" (as Wood styles him) died in 1678.—Ath. Oxon. iii. 1189.

morning, before he was out of bed. But go he must to appear before the Governor; and when he came, that treacherous rogue his man did confidently affirm that he heard the letters read, and was sure he could remember the very words, if his master would produce the letters. Upon which the Doctor relates the whole story to the Governor, and withal shews the diurnal, which the Governor read to the fellow, often asking him, "Is this right? Is this the same you heard?" To whom he answered, "Yes, sir, yes; that is the very thing, and those words I remember." Upon which the Governor caused him to be soundly whipped, instead of giving him a reward for his intelligence; and dismissed the Doctor with some compliments, ordering the same party of horse that fetched him to wait upon him home.

81. Being thus delivered from the treachery of his servant, his great care was to provide one more faithful;
220 which the good Lady Wainman, his neighbour, hearing of, commended to him one of her own servants, whom Sir Francis her husband had bred up from a child, whose fidelity he need not fear in the worst of times, when a man's enemies may be of his own household, as Q. Vibius Serenus was betrayed by his own son,—*Reus pater, accusator filius, idem judex et testis,* saith the historian[1],—"The son was both accuser, judge, and witness against his father."

82. After he had lived many years[2] in Minster [1653]
Lovel, he removed from thence to Abingdon, where he bought a house called Lacye's Court, of which he bestowed much cost in repairing and building some additions to it, particularly of a little oratory or chapel, which about the altar was adorned with silk hangings; the other part of the room plain, but kept very decent,

[1] Tacit. Hist. iv. [21.] *A.* [But for *judex* we ought to read *index.*]
[2] From 1648 to 1653.—Vern. 142-5.

[1653-60] wherein himself and his family went to prayers. [The[1] then usurping powers had, by the severest edicts, solemnly interdicted the regular Clergy the discharge of their public ministry in the sacred offices of religion; nay, they were forbid the teaching and instructing of youth in all private houses, though they wanted the necessaries of human life for themselves and families. In which sad prospect of affairs, our divine, in this[2] private oratory, had frequency of *synaxes*—the Liturgy of the Church being daily read by him, and the holy Eucharist administered as often as opportunity gave leave; many devout and well-affected persons, after the manner of the primitive Christians, when they lived under heathen persecutions, resorting to his little chapel, that there they might wrestle with the Almighty for his blessing upon themselves, and upon a divided, infatuated people.] Most rooms of his house were well furnished, and the best furniture in them, as in the dining-chamber and next room to it, were saved by his good neighbours at Alresford, who were so far from thinking, (except some malicious persons among them,) that they should never 221
fix eye on him more, unless they took a journey (which I hate to mention) to a gaol or a gallows[3], that they questioned not his return again to Alresford, and the enjoyment of his plundered goods. This house in Abingdon he purchased for the pleasantness of its situation, standing next the fields, and not distant five miles from Oxford, where he might be furnished with books at his pleasure, either from the booksellers' shops, or the Bodleian Library. Particularly he was beholden to his

[1] This passage is from Vernon, 146-7.

[2] The words are slightly altered here.

[3] This expression was used by Vernon (p. 120) without any ill intention, to express the sense which Heylyn's parishioners had of the imminent danger in which he at one time was. It has been already mentioned (p. xxvii.) that Barnard found fault with it in his "Vindication."

reverend and learned friend Doctor Barlow, now Lord Bishop of Lincoln[1], who sometimes accommodated him with choice books: of whom I have heard the Doctor say, "If the times ever altered, he was confident that man of learning would be made a Bishop;" which indeed is now come to pass. Such a fresh appetite to study and writing he still retained in his old age, that he would give his mind no time of vacancy and intermission from those labours in which he was before continually exercised. 'Tis said of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, an indefatigable student, as his son writes of him[2], *Nullum tempus a stu-*
222 *diis literarum et lucubrationibus* [*vacuum*] *relinquebat;* but he was then forty years of age before he began the course of his studies, having spent his former days in the camp of Mars, and not of the Muses: the Doctor from a child devoted his whole life to painful study, not allowing himself ease in the worst of times, and in the midst of his troubles.

83. For at the time of his sad pilgrimage, when he was forced to wander and take sanctuary at any friend's house, his thoughts were not extravagant, but studiously intent upon these matters which he digested afterward into form and use when he came to a settled condition. And in the beginning of his troubles, being under the displeasure of the House of Commons, on the complaint of Mr Pryn, when his enemies took the advantage, some to libel and others to write against him,—(particularly Doctor Hackwel[3], before mentioned, at such an unseasonable time; with whom Doctor Heylyn saith he "would not refuse an encounter upon any argument, either at the sharp or at

[1] See p. xxiii.

[2] Ju. Scalig. Ep. de Vetustate et Splendore Gentis Scalig. p. 47. [Lugd. Bat. 1594.] *A.*

[3] The work of Hakewill here alluded to is that on the Eucharist, mentioned, not in the text of Barnard, but in a passage inserted from Vernon, sup. p. cxxxvii.

[1658-9] the smooth[1]")—afterward, when monarchy and episcopacy was trodden under foot, then did he stand up a 223
champion in defence of both, and feared not to publish "The Stumbling-Block of Disobedience[2]," and his *Certamen Epistolare;* in which Mr Baxter fled the field, because there was *impar congressus*[3] betwixt him, and (as I may say) an old soldier of the King's, who had been used to fiercer combats with more famous Goliahs. Also Mr Thomas Fuller was sufficiently chastised by the Doctor for his Church History; as he deserved a most sharp correction, because he had been a son of the Church of England in the time of her prosperity, and now deserted her in her adverse fortune, and took to the adversary's side[4]: and it was then my hap, having some business with Mr Taylor, my fellow collegian in Lincoln College, then Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Mr Nathaniel Fines, to see Mr Fuller make a fawning address to my Lord[5] with his great book of Church History hugged under his arm, which he presented to the Keeper after an uncouth manner, as Horace describeth,

Sub ala
Fasciculum portas librorum ut rusticus agnum[6].

[1] Exam. Hist. ii. Append. 223.

[2] Of this work, Vernon states that it was written in the latter end of 1644; that "the Lord Hatton, the Bishop of Sarum, Sir Orlando Bridgman, and Dr Steward, perused the whole treatise; and the King, approving of the contents, commanded the Lord Digby further to consider the book; in whose hands it did for a long time rest: neither was it made public till about ten years after the war was ended" (1658.)—130-1. It is reprinted in the folio volume of Tracts.

[3] Virg. Æn. i. 475 (where, however, *congressus* is a participle.)

[4] Lloyd, in his "Memoirs of Noble, &c. Personages," 1668, p. 523, styles Fuller's Church-History "the unhappiest [of his works],—written in such a time when he could not do the truth right with safety, nor wrong it with honour."

[5] Whatever Fuller's inconsistencies may have been, Barnard was not a person from whom any aspersions of this sort could come with a good grace. See p. xxi. note 2.

[6] Hor. Ep. [I.] xiii. [13.] *A.*

The many falsities, defects, and mistakes of that book [1658-9]
224 the Doctor discovered and refuted[1]; of which Mr

[1] In the *Examen Historicum*, Lond. 1658-9. Fuller replied in the "Appeal of Injured Innocence"—perhaps the ablest of his works. It is not, however, a triumph, but an admirable covering of a defeat; for as to the points in dispute, Heylyn has greatly the advantage. Lloyd well characterises the "Appeal," in the continuation of his notice of Fuller's History, quoted above:—"The errors whereof Dr Heylyn corrected smartly, and he either confessed or excused ingeniously, *pleasing his reader with those faults he so wittily apologiseth for.*"—(524. Comp. Heyl. Certam. Epist. 315-6, 336.) Heylyn accounts for the speediness of Fuller's reply, by stating that one Mason, a corrector of the press, "falsely and unworthily communicated the sheets [of the *Examen*] to him as they came from the press."—(ib. 338.) The copy of the "Appeal" which Fuller sent to his censor, was accompanied by the following characteristic letter, which is here printed from the *Certamen Epistolare*, 312-4.

"To my loving friend, Dr Peter Heylyn.

"I hope, Sir, that we are not mortally unfriended by this difference which hath happened betwixt us. And now, as duellers, when they are both out of breath, may stand still and parley before they have a second pass; let us in cold blood exchange a word, and mean time let us depose, at least suspend, our animosities.

"Death hath crept into both our clay cottages through the windows; your eyes being bad, mine not good. God mend them both, and sanctify unto us those monitors of mortality, and, however it fareth with our corporal sights, send our souls that collyrium and heavenly eye-salve mentioned in the scripture! But indeed, Sir, I conceive our time, pains, and parts may be better expended to God's glory and Church's good, than in these needless contentions; why should Peter fall out with Thomas, both being disciples to the same Lord and Master? I assure you, Sir (whatever you conceive to the contrary), I am cordial to the cause of the English Church, and my hoary hairs will go down to the grave in sorrow for her suffering.

"You well remember the passage in Homer, how wise Nestor bemoaned the unhappy difference betwixt Agamemnon and Achilles.

> "O God! how great the grief of Greece the while,
> And Priam's self and sons do sweetly smile,
> Yea, all the Trojan party swell with laughter,
> That Greeks with Greeks fall out and fight to slaughter[1].

"Let me, therefore, tender you an expedient intendency to our mutual agreement. You know full well, Sir, how in heraldry, two lioncels rampant endorced are said to be the emblem of two valiant men, keeping

[1] Iliad, [i.] 254[-7]. "I am forced to omit the Greek verses, because my amanuensis is not scholar enough to transcribe them distinctly for me."—Heyl.

Fuller afterward being ingeniously ashamed, came to the Doctor's house in Abingdon, where he made his peace; both became very good friends, and between them for the future was kept an inviolable bond of friendship.

84. In the year 1656, the Doctor printed some observations[1] upon the History of the Reign of King Charles, published by H[amon] L['Estrange], Esq.: with whom the Doctor dealt very candidly, and modestly corrected some of his mistakes in most mild and ami-

appointment and meeting in the field, but either forbidden to fight by their Prince, whereupon back to back, neither conquerors nor conquered, they depart from the field several ways (their stout stomachs not suffering them both to go the same way), lest it be accounted an injury one to precede the other. In like manner I know you disdain to allow me your equal in this controversy betwixt us, and I will not allow you my superior. To prevent further trouble, let it be a drawn battle, and let both of us abound in our own sense, severally persuaded in the truth of what we have written. Thus parting and going back to back here, (to cut off all contest about precedency), I hope we shall meet in heaven face to face hereafter. In order whereunto, God willing, I will give you a meeting when and where you shall be pleased to appoint, that we who have tilted pens, may shake hands together.

"St Paul, writing to Philemon concerning Onesimus, saith, 'For perhaps he therefore departed for a season that thou mightest receive him for ever.' To avoid exceptions, you shall be the good Philemon, I the fugitive Onesimus. Who knoweth but that God in his providence permitted, yea, ordered, this difference to happen betwixt us, not only to occasion a reconciliation, but to consolidate a mutual friendship betwixt us during our lives? and that the survivor (in God's pleasure only to appoint) may make favourable and respectful mention of him who goeth first to the grave, the desire of him who remains,

"Sir,

"A lover of your parts and an honourer of your person,

"Tho. Fuller."

Heylyn's rejoinder, in the Appendix to the *Certamen Epistolare*, 1659, was not in the tone which this letter might have been expected to produce. He had evidently conceived an ill opinion of Fuller's principles, and was not to be disarmed, either by personal courtesies or by protestations of attachment to the Church. It is satisfactory to know from the text that the two afterwards became friends.

[1] They were sent forth anonymously, but the authorship does not appear to have been any secret.

cable terms, telling him, viz., "Between us both the History will be made more perfect, and consequently the reader will be better satisfied; which makes me somewhat confident, that these few notes will be so far from making your History less vendible than it was before, that they will very much advantage and promote the sale: and if I can do good to all, without wrong to any, I hope no man can be offended with my pains and industry[1]." In answer to which Mr Hammond L'Estrange, led by his passion, and not by reason, fell upon the Doctor in such uncivil words, unbecoming a gentleman, that, as the Doctor saith, he never was accustomed to such Billingsgate language[2]. "There was indeed a time" (saith he) "when my name was almost in every libel which exercised the patience of the State for seven years together, and yet I dare confidently say, that all of them together did not vomit so much filth upon me, as hath proceeded from the mouth of the pamphleteer whom I have in hand[3]." Therefore the Doctor returned a quick and sharp reply to him in his book entituled *Extraneus Vapulans*, wherein, with admired wit and eloquence, he gave Mr L'Estrange a most severe, yet civil correction. His brother Mr Roger L'Estrange, a most loyal gentleman, hath since made amends for his brother's faults, by his good service done both to Church and State[4]. [1657-8]

85. The next book which the Doctor published[5],

[1] In the Epistle Dedicatory. *A.*

[2] Extran. Vapulans, Epistle to the Reader, *A.* [Comp. Certam. Epist. 311-12.]

[3] Ibid.

[4] Hamon L'Estrange himself was led, by the aspersions which Heylyn cast on his churchmanship, to compose the work by which he is now favourably known—"The Alliance of Divine Offices." See the Anglo-cath. Library edition, p. xii.

[5] There are in the *Certamen Epistolare*, pp. 328-9, some details which throw light on Heylyn's transactions with publishers, and his literary

[1657-8] An. Dom. 1657, "*Ecclesia Vindicata*[1]; or the Church of England justified," he dedicated it, (as a grateful testimony of his mind), to his Master, then living, Mr Edward Davis, formerly schoolmaster of Burford, and now vicar of Shilton[2] in the county of Berks, to whom he 226
ever shewed a love and reverence; and had the Doctor's

profits. Fuller having stated that the *Examen Historicum* (which consists of "Animadversions" on the Church-History, and "Advertisements" on Sanderson,) was "offered to, and refused by, some stationers, because that, by reason of the high terms, they could not make a saving bargain to themselves;"—Heylyn replies: "For answer whereunto I must let him know, that the *Animadversions*, when they stood single by themselves, in the first draught of them, were offered to Mr Roycroft, the printer, for a piece of plate of five or six pounds, and a quartern of copies, which would have cost him nothing but so much paper, conditioned that he should be bound to make them ready by Candlemas Term, 1657. But, he not performing that condition, I sent for them again, enlarged them to a full third part, and seconded them with the *Advertisements* on Mr Sanderson's Histories; and, having so done, offered them to Mr Royston and Mr Marriot, who had undertaken the printing of the book called *Respondet Petrus*, after my old friend had refused it: whose propositions—(for I reserved the offer to be made by them,)—being very free and ingenuous, were by me cheerfully accepted. But Mr Marriot afterwards declining the business, it was afterwards performed by Mr Royston and Mr Seyle, his said old friend, on no better conditions than had been offered at the first. And, now I am forced upon this point, I shall add this also—that for the *Observations* on the History of H. L ['Estrange], Esq., and the *Defence* thereof against the *Observator Observed*, the *Help to History*, (which I shall now boldly take upon me, being thus put to it), and the book called *Ecclesia Vindicata*, I never made any conditions at all; and for the four last never received any consideration, but in copies only: and those, too, in so small a number that I had not above seven or eight of the three first, and but twelve of the last. And for the printing of these papers, [the *Certamen*,] so far was I from making any capitulation, that it remains wholly in the ingenuity of the stationer to deal with me in it as he pleases; so that I scribble for the most part, as some cats kill mice, rather to find myself some recreation, than to satisfy hunger. And, though I have presented as many of the said books, and my large Cosmographies, within seven years past, as did amount at the least unto twenty pounds, I never received the value of a single farthing, either directly or indirectly, either in money or in any other kind of retribution, of what sort soever." After this follows the statement as to the presentation of the Hist. of St George, already given, p. LXXI. n. 1.

[1] Reprinted in the folio of Tracts.

[2] Ed. "Shelton."

power been answerable to his will and intention, he had designed more considerable preferments[1] for him; but the sudden and unexpected alteration in his own affairs prevented, (so soon almost as himself was preferred), that he could shew no other specimen of his gratitude. What saith the heathen? *Diis, parentibus, et præceptoribus non redditur æquivalens*—"An amends can never be made to God, our parents, and tutors;" and certainly he hath but little of a Christian in him that can forget this lesson.

86. About the same time he was harassed before Oliver's major-general for the decimation[2] of his estate. *Hoc novum est aucupium*[3]; for he thought there had been an end of all further payments and punishment for his loyalty, by compounding for his estate in Goldsmiths' Hall[4], that he argued the case notably with them, but all in vain: for arguments, though never so acutely handled, are obtuse weapons against the edge of the sword. He tells us that his temporal estate was "first
227 brought under sequestration, and under a decimation since, only for his adhesion to those sacred verities to which he hath been principled by education, and confirmed by study[5]." While he was arguing his cause before the major-general and his captains, one Captain Allen, formerly a tinker, and his wife a poor tripe-wife,

[1] It may be presumed that Heylyn procured the benefice (which is of very small value) for his old schoolmaster, from the relation mentioned, p. LXXXI, as living at Shilton.

[2] After some abortive attempts in favour of the Royal family, in 1655, Cromwell "made, by his own authority and that of his Council, an order 'that all those who had ever borne arms for the King, or had declared themselves to be of the Royal party, should be decimated, that is, pay a tenth part of all that estate which they had left, to support the charge which the Commonwealth was put to by the unquietness of their temper, and the just cause of jealousy which they had administered."—Clarendon, 830.

[3] Terent. Eunuch. II. ii. 16.

[4] Sup. p. CLII.

[5] Extran. Vap. 50. *A.*

took upon him to reprove the Doctor for maintaining his wife so highly, like a lady; to whom the Doctor roundly replied—That "he had married a gentlewoman, and did maintain her according to her quality; and so might he his tripe-wife:"—adding withal, that "this rule he always observed, For his wife to go above his estate, his children according to his estate, and himself below his estate; so that at the year's end he could make all even." Soon after these things, came out the order of decimation against him; a heathenish cruelty in this case—if men's estates are as dear to them as their lives, (because the one without the other renders them miserable)—may be compared to that of Maximian, the tyrant and cruel persecutor of the Church, that put the Christians to such a bloody decimation that every tenth 228
man of them was to be killed[1]. And this other was barbarous enough in its kind, that all the gentry of the nation, (not only the tenth part of them), who had engaged in his Majesty's service, should first be compelled to compound for their own estates, and afterward without mercy decimated: that brought an utter ruin upon many of their families.

87. Notwithstanding all this, the Doctor, like the palm-tree, (*crescit sub pondere virtus,*) the more he was pressed with these heavy loads, did flourish and grow up in his estate, that through the blessing of God being neither the subject of any man's envy nor the object of their pity, he lived in good credit and kept a noble house: for I myself, being often there, can say, I have seldom seen him sit down at his table without company; for, being nigh the University, some out of a desire to be acquainted with him, and others to visit their old friend, whom they knew rarely could be seen but at meals,

[1] This probably refers to the story of the Theban legion. See Fleury, l. viii. c. 18.

made choice of that time to converse with him: and
229 likewise his good neighbours at Abingdon, whom he always made welcome, if they were honest men that had been of the Royal party, and was ready to assist them upon all occasions; particularly in upholding the Church of St Nicholas, which otherwise had been pulled down, on pretence of uniting it to St Ellen's, but in truth to disable the sober party of the town, who were loyal people, from enjoying their wonted service and worship of God in their own parish-church, of which they had a reverend and orthodox man, one Mr Huish, their minister; and in his absence, the Doctor took care to get them supplied with able men from Oxford. Great endeavours were on both sides—the one party to preserve the Church, and the other to pull it down, because it was thronged with malignants, who seduced others from their godly way: religion always hath been the pretence of factious minds to draw on others to their party, as one saith well, *Sua quisque arma sancta prædicat, suam causam religiosam; Deus, pietas, cultus divinus prætexuntur*[1], "Every one proclaimeth their own
230 quarrels to be a holy war, the cause religion; God, godliness, and divine worship must be pretended."

88. Several journeys the good Doctor took to London, sparing neither his pains nor purse in so pious a cause; for the managing of which he employed divers solicitors; sometimes before committees, at other times before Oliver's Council, where it was carried dubiously, and rather inclining to the other side: at which the Presbyterian party caused the bells to be rung, and made bonfires in the town, to express their joy, triumphing in the ruin of a poor Church. But the day was not so clearly their own as they imagined, *Dum res, quamvis afflictæ, nondum tamen perditæ forent*[2],

[1] Ubbo Emm. iv. His. Fris. *A.*

[2] Justin, iv. 5. Barnard confounds the general Demosthenes with the orator.

as the orator said; for the Church yet stood against all its enemies, God protecting his own House, and his zealous servants for it, in a time when they could look for little favours from the powers that then ruled, who had not so much respect for God's House as the heathens had for their idol temples, and for those that vindicated them, as Justin[1] saith on this occasion—*Diis proximus habetur, per quem Deorum majestas vindicata sit:* for which he praiseth Philip of Macedon, calling 231
him, *Vindicem sacrilegii, ultorem religionum*, &c. During those troubles about the Church, Mr Huish, the minister thereof, durst not go on in his ministerial duties; which no sooner the Doctor heard of, but, to animate and encourage him, he writ a pious letter[2], a copy of which I then transcribed; which is as followeth, and worth the inserting here:—

89. "SIR,

"WE are much beholden to you for your cheerful condescending unto our desires, so far as the Lord's-day's service; which though it be *Opus diei in die suo*, yet we cannot think ourselves to be fully masters of our requests, till you have yielded to bestow your pains on the other days also. We hope in reasonable time, to alter the condition of Mr Blackwel's[3] pious gift, that, without hazarding the loss of his donation, which would be an irrecoverable blow to this poor parish, you may sue out your *Quietus est* from that daily attendance, unless you find some further motives and inducements to persuade you to it; yet so to alter it, that there

[1] Just. viii. [2.] *A.* ["Dignum qui Diis proximus haberetur," &c.]

[2] It is also given by Vernon, 143-154.

[3] So the name is given in both the Biographies. But it is *Blacknall*, in Cyp. Ang. 171, where it is stated that this person, being an inhabitant of the parish, "bestowed upon it, amongst other legacies, an annual pension to be paid unto the Curate thereof, for reading duly [daily ?] prayer in the said Church, according to the form prescribed in the English Liturgy."

232 shall be no greater wrong done to his intentions, than to most part of the founders in each University, by changing prayers for the souls, first by them intended, into a commemoration of their bounties, as was practised. All dispositions of this kind must vary with those[1] changes which befall the Church, or else be alienated and estranged to other purposes. I know it must needs be some discouragement to you to read to walls, or to pray in public with so thin a company as hardly will amount to a congregation; but withal I desire you to consider, that *magis* and *minus*, as logicians say, do not change the species of things; that quantities of themselves are of little efficacy, (if at all of any), and that He who promised to be in the midst of two or three when they meet together in his Name, hath clearly shewed, that even the smallest congregations shall not want his presence. And why then should we think much to bestow our pains where He vouchsafeth his presence? or think our labour ill-bestowed, if some few only do partake of the present benefit? And yet no doubt the benefit extends to more than the parties present; for you know well that the priest or minister is not only to pray with, but for the people; that he
233 is not only to offer up the people's prayers to Almighty God, but to offer up his own prayers for them; the benefit whereof may charitably be presumed to extend to, as well as it was intended for, the absent also. And if a whole nation may be represented in a parliament of four hundred persons, and they derive the blessings of peace and comfort upon all the land, why may we not conceive, that God will look on three or four of this little parish as the representation[2] of the whole, and for their sakes extend his grace and blessing unto all the rest;—that He who would have saved that sinful city of Sodom, had he found but ten righteous persons

[1] Barn. "their." [2] Vern. "representative."

in it, may not vouchsafe to bless a less sinful people upon the prayers of a like or less number of pious and religious persons? When the high priest went into the *Sanctum Sanctorum* to make atonement for the sins of the people, went he not thither by himself—none of the people being suffered to enter into that place? Do not we read, that when Zacharias offered up incense, which figured the prayers of the saints, within the temple, the people waited all that while in the outward courts? or find we anywhere, that the priest who offered up the daily sacrifice,—(and this comes nearest 234
to our case,)—did ever intermit that office by reason of the slackness and indevotion of the people in repairing to it?

"But you will say, 'There is a lion in the way,' there is danger in it. Assuredly I hope none at all; or if any, none that you would care for. The sword of the Committee had as sharp an edge, and was managed with as strong a malice, as any ordinance of a later date[1] can empower men with. Having so fortunately escaped the danger of that, why should you think of any thing, but despising this, (as Tully did unto Mark Antony—*Catilinæ gladios contempsi, non timebo tuos*)[2]? Why may you not conclude with David, in the like sense and apprehensions of God's preservation, that He who saved him from the bear and from the lion, would also save him from the sword of that railing Philistine: and you may see that the Divine providence is still awake over that poor remnant of the regular and orthodox clergy which have not yet bowed their knees to the golden calves of late erected, by putting so unexpectedly a hook into the nostrils of those Leviathans which threatened with an open mouth to devour them all. I will not say as Clemens of Alexandria did in a case much like, that 235

[1] Barn. "of a late date;" Vern. "of later date."

[2] "Contempsi Catilinæ gladios, non pertimescam tuos." Cic. Philippic. ii. 46.

it is ἀνάνδρον τι to indulge too much to apprehensions[1] of this nature, in matters which relate to God's public service: all I shall add is briefly this[2], that, having presented you with these considerations, I shall with greediness expect the sounding of the bell to-morrow morning, and in the meantime make my prayers to Almighty God [so][3] to direct you in this business, as may be most for his glory, your own particular comfort, and the good of this people. With which expressions of my soul, I subscribe myself,

Your most affectionate friend

and brother in Christ Jesus,

PETER HEYLYN."

90. After this good letter, Mr Huish went on in his prayers as formerly, and this little Church withstood all the batteries and fierce assaults of its enemies, who were never able to demolish it, or unite it to St Ellen's; so well had the Doctor managed the business for the public good and the benefit of the parish: for as to his own particular, he might have spared that pains and charge, having, (as we said before), a chapel
236 in his own house, where he constantly used the Common-prayer for his family devotions[4], being no lover of other forms, much less of extemporary effusions, for the impertinences, tautologies, and irreverent expressions that usually attends them: though such prayers are most admired by the vulgar, because some of them think themselves excellently gifted that

[1] Barn. "apprehension." [2] Barn. "thus."

[3] Vern.

[4] After giving the account of Heylyn's family-worship, which has been inserted, p. CLVI., Vernon says that "in a few years, the rage of the higher powers abating, the Liturgy of the Church began in some places to be publicly read; and Mr Huish had a numerous auditory of loyal persons," &c.—147.

way; as the Doctor tells us a story of a Puritan tradesman:—"Meeting one time" (saith he)[1] "by chance, my old chamber-fellow Mr L. D. at dinner, my chamber-fellow, being the only scholar in the company, was requested to say Grace, which he did accordingly; and having done, the tradesman, lifting up both his hands and whites to heaven, calls upon the company saying, 'Dearly beloved brethren, let us praise God better;' and thereupon began a long extempore Grace of his own conceiving."

But to return again—as he had a respect to the cause of the Church, so he was careful of his own concern to answer Dr Bernard, an Irish Dean, but now chaplain to Oliver, one of his almoners, and a preacher in Gray's Inn, who had put forth a book entituled "The Judgment of the late Primate of Ire- 237
[1658] land[2]," &c. In reply to which, the Doctor published *Respondet Petrus*, and an Appendix in answer to certain passages of H. L'Est.[3] History of the reign of King Charles. In the one, he treateth learnedly about the Sabbath; the other relating to the Lord Primate, the Articles of the Church of Ireland, and the Earl of Strafford: to neither of which his adversaries could make a reply; but instead thereof, Dr Bernard endeavoured to procure an order from Oliver's Privy Council, to burn the book, which caused a common report, that Dr Heylyn's book of the Sabbath was publicly burnt[4]. But according to the old saying, *Fama*

[1] On the Form of Bidding Prayer, Tracts, 160. *A.* [2] Ussher.

[3] Barnard here and elsewhere confounds two historians of King Charles, with both of whom Heylyn engaged in controversy. The Appendix to *Resp. Petrus* was in answer, not to L'Estrange, but to Sanderson, who replied in a pamphlet, entitled *Post-haste.* Heylyn remarked on this in the Appendix to the *Examen Historicum;* and Sanderson rejoined in *Peter Pursued,* in which his former pamphlet (originally printed for private circulation) was embodied.

[4] See Certam. Epist. 100, (misprinted 84,) seqq. It appears that

est mendax; for the book never saw the fire, nor any [1658]
answer to it: and if it had been martyred in the fire, it would have proved more for the author's credit than disgrace, as Tacitus[1] tells us in the like case of Cremutius Cordus, whose book was decreed by the Senate to be burnt—*Punitis ingeniis* (saith he) *gliscit authoritas*,—"When good wits are punished, their credit groweth greater."

238 [90] An ordinary scandal hath been thrown upon learned men who have been zealous defenders of the Church of England, to brand them with the ignominious name of Papists, or being popishly affected, because they have abhorred the other extreme of Puritanism: in which kind of slanders the Doctor hath sufficiently received his share; that Hammond L'Estrange[2] called him, "An agent for the See of Rome." A heavy charge

Heylyn, being in London in the end of June, 1658, heard that an order had been issued for burning his book. On this, he addressed to Bernard a letter, in which are these words:—"I have so much charity as to think that this is done without your privity and consent, but I cannot but conceive withal, that, if the business be carried on to such extremities, the generality of men will not be so persuaded of it." He begs him to interpose, and prevent the burning, and offers him satisfaction either "by the pen, or by personal conference," for any thing which may be offensive in the book. Bernard replies—"For the order mentioned in your letter, I find your charity prevented me in any further assurance of you that I was not the mover of it;" that the treatise was condemned, (as he heard,) under an ordinance of 1644 for burning all books written against the then prevailing view as to the Lord's Day; and that it was not a matter in which he could interfere. Heylyn then applied to the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Chiverton, requesting him to procure a respite of the order. The Lord Mayor, before moving in the matter, committed the book to "some grave and learned Divines about the city" for examination. After all this, Heylyn discovered that no order had been issued for the burning; that information had been given against the book, but the Council had committed the matter to the Lord Mayor, "to be proceeded in according to his discretion." It is to be presumed that the Divines pronounced a favourable judgment, and so the matter ended. Comp. Cert. Epist. 118, 125, 131.

[1] Annal. iv. [35.] *A.*

[2] It was not L'Estrange, but Sanderson, by whom the words were used. See *Respondet Petrus*, 145.

this is, if it carried the least semblance of truth; but what honest man may not be so belied—*Si accusare suffecerit, quis innocens erit?* When the Doctor in all his writings,—(and no man, I may say, more)—hath declared his judgment against the Church of Rome; and upon every occasion, as he meets with her, whets his pen most sharply, to lance her old sores, and let the world see what filthy corruptions and errors abound in her; more particularly in his book of books, *Theologia Veterum*, upon the Apostles' Creed, the Sum of Christian Theology, positive, polemical, and philological; and in all his Court-sermons upon the Tares, especially the fourth sermon; also in his great Cosmography, 239
where he sets out the Popes of Rome[1] in their pontifical colours. Therefore for the vindication of him from this foul aspersion, with which some have maliciously bespattered many of our excellent divines, I particularly thank the reverend and learned Dr Stillingfleet for his answer to T. G.[2], who would have

[1] pp. 86, seqq.

[2] *R*[*omish*] *P*[*riest*]. "T. G[odden] tells a notable story of the Lambeth Articles.....and all this, as well as many other good things, he hath out of one P. Heylyn. Is the man alive, I pray, that we may give him our due thanks for the service he hath done us upon many occasions? For we have written whole books against the Reformation, out of his History of it."..... *P*[*rotestant*] *D*[*ivine*]. "Dr Heylyn was a man of very good parts and learning, who did write history pleasantly enough; but in some things he was too much a party to be an historian; and, being deeply concerned in some quarrels himself, all his historical writings about our Church do plainly discover which side he espoused: which to me doth not seem to agree with the impartiality of an historian; and, if he could but throw dirt on that which he accounted the Puritan party, from the beginning of the Reformation, he mattered not though the whole Reformation suffered by it. But for all this, he was far from being a friend either to the Church or Court of Rome; and, next to Puritanism, I believe he hated Popery most."—Stillingfleet, Conferences concerning the Idolatry of the Ch. of Rome, Works, Lond. 1710, vi. 31-2.

It is well known that James II. and his first wife ascribed to the work now republished a share in influencing them in favour of the Roman

made use of the Puritan's accusation for the Papist's purpose; but the worthy Doctor quickly refuted him, and ever after put him to silence, in citing Dr Heylyn's fourth sermon upon the Tares, where he lays at the door of Papists the most gross idolatry—greater than which was never known among the Gentiles. This being brought into discourse at such time as the Archbishop's book against Fisher the Jesuit was newly published, it was affirmed by some that the Doctor in his sermon had pulled up Popery by the roots, yet one of the company most maliciously replied thereunto —"That the Archbishop might print, and the Doctor
240 might preach, what they pleased against Popery; but that he should never think them or either of them to be the less Papists for all that[1]." A censure of so strange a nature, (saith the Doctor himself) that he believed it is not easy to be paralleled in the worst of times. But what need is there of producing sermons or other testimonies in his behalf, when his general conversation, more severe than ordinary, fully attested, that, as he was a strict observer of all the rites and orders of the Church of England, so a perfect abhorrer of Popery and Roman superstitions; that he would not so much as hold correspondency with a Papist, or

communion. Burnet (Own Time, ii. 24, ed. Oxf. 1833,) relates that in an interview which he had with James (then Duke of York), the Duke "turned to some passages in Heylyn's History of the Reformation, which he had lying by him; and the passages were marked, to shew upon what motives and principles men were led into the changes that were then made." That is to say, Heylyn, as a historian, mentioned certain facts, from which James wrongly concluded against the Church of England, and, (by a further mistake in reasoning,) in favour of the Church of Rome. This is indeed the only way in which the History could be said to benefit the cause of Romanism; and it cannot be necessary to point out the difference between saying that Romanists have taken advantage of his data, for purposes which he never contemplated, and charging him (as many writers have done) with *favouring* Romanism. The book may safely be left to refute this charge.

[1] Cyp. Ang. 339. [=361.] *A*.

with one so reputed;—as I can instance an example of one Mr Hood, whose family and the Doctor's were very kind when he lived at Minster, being near neighbours; but the gentleman afterward, changing his religion and turning Papist, came to Abingdon, to give him a visit in his new house; the Doctor sent his man Mr Gervis, who was his amanuensis, to bid the gentleman begone, and shut the doors of him, saying, that he heard he was turned Papist, for which he 241
hated the sight of him: and so my gentleman went away, never daring to give him another visit. In which he followed the example of his Lord's Grace of Canterbury, that, when Con was sent hither by the Pope, to be assistant to the Queen in her religion, "the wise Bishop kept himself at such a distance with him, that neither Con, nor Panzani before him, (who acted for a time in the same capacity), could fasten any acquaintance on him; nay, he neglected all intercessions in that case, and did shun, as it were the plague, the company and familiarity of Con[1]."

[1] Cyp. Ang. 386. [=411.] *A.*

245

THE TRUE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF THE
MOST REVEREND AND LEARNED DIVINE,
DR PETER HEYLYN.

PART II.

"Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur[1]."
Apoc. cap. xiv.13.

[91] LIKE a true Christian and obedient son of the Church, the good Doctor did patiently undergo all the persecutions, reproaches, and clamorous speeches, both of Papists and Puritans; not regarding what the height of their malice could speak, or their virulent pens could write, against him—because he was able to defend himself. But that which drew all the odium and inveterate malice upon him from the several factions then pre-
246 valent, was his loyalty, learning, and conscience, that he constantly asserted the King's prerogative [and] the Church's rights, (not infringing the people's privileges.) In the defence of which he was continually employed until his Majesty's most happy restoration, which was the longed hope and earnest desire of this poor distracted nation—*Quia non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium fuisse, quam ut ab uno regeretur*, as the historian[2] said; which cannot be Englished better than in the words of his Majesty's

[1] This motto appears in the special Title-page prefixed to the Second Part in the old Edition.

[2] Tacit. Ann i. [93.] *A.* [who reads *patriæ discordantis.*]

[1660] late gracious declaration—"That religion, liberty, and property were all lost and gone when the monarchy was shaken off, and could never be revived till that was restored." Therefore the people's representatives in Parliament, induced by necessity as well as duty, did unanimously vote, like the elders of Judah, to bring home their lord the King to his native kingdom; of whose wished return we did then all sing, as the poet[1] of Augustus—

Custos gentis, abes jam nimium diu
Maturum reditum pollicitus Patrum
Sancto concilio [redi.]
Lucem redde tuæ[2], Dux bone, patriæ
Instar veris enim vultus ubi tuus
Affulsit populo, gratior it dies
Et soles melius nitent.

247

That is to say,

Most Sovereign Guardian of this nation,
Thy absence all lament;
Return to joy the expectation
Of thy whole Parliament.
Good Prince, the glory of our land,
Shine with thy beams of majesty.
Thy countenance, like the Spring at hand,
Cheers up thy people merrily.
Our days now more delightfully are spent,
The Sun looks brighter in the firmament.

92. And now the sun shone more gloriously in our hemisphere than ever; the tyrannical powers being dissolved, as the historian[3] said, *Non Cinnæ, non Syllæ dominatio, et Pompei Crassique potentia in Cæsarem;*—the kingdom ruled by its own natural Prince and only lawful Sovereign; the Church restored to her ancient rights, and true religion established among us; every man sitting under his own vine with joy, who had been a good subject and a sufferer—the Doctor was restored

[1] Horat. Carm. IV. v. 2—8. *A.* [2] Barn. "lux."

[3] Tacit. [Ann. i. 1. "Non Cinnæ, non Sullæ longa dominatio; et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in Cæsarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere.] *A.*

248 to all his former preferments, of which he had been deprived for seventeen years. After his re-entrance into his prebendary of Westminster, he had the honour to attend his sacred Majesty at the time of his coronation, in the solemnity of which, according to his office and place as Subdean of the church, he presented upon his knees the royal sceptre unto his Majesty, in whose exile to the utmost of his power he had exercised his pen in the defence both of the crown, sceptre, and mitre: his soul then transported with joy, that he should survive the usurped powers, and see with his old bad eyes the King settled upon his father's throne, and peace upon Israel. In the evening, after the ceremonies of the coronation were over, while the ordinance was playing from the Tower, it happened to thunder violently, at which some persons who were at supper with him seemed much affrighted. I very well remember an expression of his upon the same, according to the poet's word, *Intonuit lævum*[1], that the ordinance of heaven answered those of the Tower, rejoicing at the
249 solemnity; with which the company being exceedingly pleased, there followed much joy and mirth. [April 23, 1661]

94. Thus being settled in Westminster, he fell upon the old work of building again and repairing, which is the costly pleasure of Clergymen, for the next generation; because building is like planting, the chief benefit of which accrues to their successors that live in another age; as Cicero said of them who took delight in planting oak trees, *Serunt arbores, quæ prosint alteri sæculo*[2]. He enlarged his prebend's house by making some convenient additions to it; particularly, he erected a new dining-room, and beautified the

[1] Virg. Æn. ii. 693. Barn. reads *lætus*.

[2] "*Serit arbores quæ alteri sæclo prosint*—ut ait Statius noster in *Synephebis*."—Cic. de Senect. vii.

[1661] other rooms; all which he enjoyed but for a little time, of which he made the best use while he lived, to serve his God, and seek after the Church's good; in which work he was as industrious after his Majesty's happy restauration as he was before, to testify his religious zeal and care that all things might run on in the old right channel: for which reason he writ a fervent letter to a great statesman of that time[1], earnestly pressing him to advise the King that a convocation might be called with the present parliament, which was a thing then under question. His letter is 250
as followeth:

"RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

"I cannot tell how welcome or unwelcome this address may prove, in regard of the greatness of the cause and the low condition of the party who negotiates in it. But I am apt enough to persuade myself, that the honest zeal which moves me to it not only will excuse, but endear the boldness.

"There is (my Lord) a general speech, but a more general fear withal amongst some of the Clergy, that there will be no convocation called with the following parliament; which, if it should be so resolved on, cannot but raise sad thoughts in the hearts of those who wish the peace and happiness of this our English Sion. But, being [the] Bishops are excluded from their votes in parliament[2], there is no other way to keep up their honour and esteem in the eyes of the people than the retaining of their places in convocation.

[1] Vernon (245) says, "to the great Minister of State in those days,"—whence it would seem that Lord Clarendon was the person to whom the letter was addressed. The copy has been collated with that given by Vernon, 246-252.

[2] By the Act 16 Car. I. c. 27. They were restored by the parliament which met after the writing of this letter. (13 Car. II c. 2).—Gibson, Codex, 149: Hume, vii. 328.

Nor have the lower Clergy any other means to shew
251 their duty to the King, and keep that little freedom which is left unto them, than by assembling in such meetings, where they may exercise the power of a convocation in granting subsidies to his Majesty, though in nothing else. And should that power be taken from them, according to the constant (but unprecedented) practice of the late long parliament; and that they must be taxed and rated with the rest of the subjects without their liking and consent—I cannot see what will become of the first Article of *Magna Charta*, so solemnly, so frequently confirmed in parliament; or what can possibly be left unto them of either the rights or liberties belonging to an English subject.

"I know it is conceived by some, that the distrust which his Majesty hath in some of the Clergy, and the diffidence which the Clergy have one of another, is looked on as the principal cause of the innovation:—(for I must needs behold it as an innovation, that any parliament should be called without a meeting of the Clergy at the same time with it). The first year of King Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen
252 Elizabeth were times of greater diffidence and distraction than this present conjuncture: and yet no parliament was called in the beginning of their several reigns without the company and attendance of a convocation, though the intendments of the state aimed then at greater alterations in the face of the Church than are now pretended or desired. And to say truth, there was no danger to be feared from a convocation, though the times were ticklish and unsettled, and the Clergy was divided into sides and factions, as the case then stood, and so stands with us at this[1] present time. For, since the Clergy in their convocations are in no

[1] Barn. "the."

authority to propound, treat, or conclude any thing, (more than the passing of a bill of subsidies for his Majesty's use), until they are impowered by the King's commission, the King may tie them up for what time he pleaseth, and give them nothing but the opportunity of entertaining one another with the news of the day. But if it be objected, that the commission now on foot for altering and explaining certain passages in the public Liturgy shall either pass instead of a convo- 253
cation, or else is thought to be neither competable nor consistent with it,—I hope far[1] better in the one, and must profess that I can see no reason in the other. For, first, I hope that the selecting of some few Bishops, and other learned men, of the lower Clergy, to debate on certain points contained in the Common Prayer Book, is not intended for a representation of the Church of England, which is a body more diffused, and cannot legally stand [bound] by their acts and counsels. And if this[2] conference be for no other purpose but only to prepare matter for a convocation,—(as some say it is not),—why may not such a conference and convocation be held both at once? For neither the selecting of some learned men out of both the orders for the composing and reviewing of the two Liturgies digested in the reign of King Edward the Sixth proved any hindrance in the calling of those convocations[3] which were held both in the second and third and in the fifth and sixth years of the said King's reign; nor was it found that the
holding of a convocation together with the first par- 254
liament under Queen Elizabeth proved any hindrance to that conference in disputation which was designed between the Bishops and some learned men of the

[1] Barn. "for."
[2] Barn. "the."
[3] Barn. "their convocation."

opposite parties. All which considered, I do most [1661]
humbly beg your Lordship to put his Majesty in mind of sending out his mandates to the two Archbishops for summoning a convocation, according to the usual form, in their several provinces; that this poor Church may be held with some degree of veneration both at home and abroad. And in the next place, I do no less humbly beseech your Lordship to excuse this freedom, which nothing but my zeal to God's glory and my affection to this Church could have forced from me. I know how ill this present office doth become me, and how much better it had been for such as shine in a more eminent sphere in the holy hierarchy to have tendered these particulars to consideration; which since they either have not done, or that no visible effect hath appeared thereof, I could not choose but cast my poor mite into the treasury;
255 which if it may conduce to the Church's good, I shall have my wish; and howsoever shall be satisfied in point of conscience, that I have not failed in doing my duty to this Church, according to the light of my understanding: and then what happens to me shall not be material. And thus again most humbly craving pardon for this great presumption, I subscribe myself,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble servant

"To be commanded,

"Peter Heylyn."

95. Soon after, a convocation[1] was called by his Majesty's writ; and during the time of their sitting (while the Doctor lived) he seldom was without visitors from them, who constantly upon occasion came to him for his advice and direction in matters relating to the

[1] "The long convocation which sat till 1678."—Wake, State of the Church, 518. It met May 8, 1661.

[1661] Church; because he had been himself an ancient clerk in the old convocations. Many persons of quality, besides the Clergy, for the reverence they had to his learning and the delight they took in his company, paid him several visits, which he never repaid, being still so devoted to his studies, that, except going to 256
church, it was a rare thing to find him from home. I happened to be there when the good Bishop of Durham, Dr Cousins, came to see him; who, after a great deal of familiar discourse between them, said, "I wonder, brother Heylyn, thou art not a Bishop; for we all know thou hast deserved it." To which he answered, "Much good may it do the new Bishops: I do not envy them, but wish they may do more than I have done." Although he was but a Presbyter, I believe their Lordships thought him worthy of their holy order. I am sure he was reverenced by some of them as St Jerome was by St Augustine—(*Quamvis Episcopus major est Presbytero, Augustinus tamen minor est Jeronymo*[1])—the one of which was an old Presbyter, the other a young Bishop, but both of incomparable learning and virtues. The old Presbyter[2] writeth thus to St Austin, the great Bishop of his time—*In scripturarum campo juvenis, non provoces senem. Nos nostra habuimus tempora, [et cucurrimus quantum possumus]; nunc te currente, et longa spatia transmeante, nobis debetur otium.* For the good Doctor's indefatigable pains and continued industry, he was second to none. For his writings and

[1] "Quanquam enim, secundum honorum vocabula quæ jam Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major sit, tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est."—Aug. ap. Hieron. Epist. v. 77. (t. IV. ii. 641, ed. Martianay, Paris, 1706.) The words in the text may have been taken from Cyp. Ang. 287, where Heylyn relates that Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, being desirous to ingratiate himself with the Puritans, thus addressed Dr Bret, "a very grave and reverend man, but one who was supposed to incline that way."

[2] Hieron. ad Aug. Ep. v. 69; t. IV. ii. 608.

257 sufferings in the cause of monarchy and episcopacy, he did spend himself and was spent. For the sad persecutions he suffered in the time of war,—his enemies hunting after his life, as Ahaziah's captains did for the man of God,—the woeful shifts and straits he was put to, to secure himself from violence,—how many times he narrowly escaped death from the hands of his enemies, as a bird out of the snare of the fowler! What fears and distractions were often upon him, that he might say, *O si nescissem literas*[1]*!* "I would to God I had not known a letter of the book!" for his learning and loyalty were the cause of all his calamities, yet notwithstanding he lived in an ungrateful age, that no respect was shewed to him or his, but he returned only to his own in peace, which he enjoyed a little while before the war, and less time after the Church's settlement. It hath been the lot many times of great scholars to be neglected, which made his enemies rejoice, and not a little insult over him, to see him only passed by, and of all others remain in *statu quo,* "in the same condition he was in before," which, after the
258 happy revolution of public affairs, neither law nor justice could hinder him of. I will not say of him as the Cardinal did of Melanchthon, that most learned divine of the Reformation—*O ingratam Germaniam, quæ tanti viri tantos labores non pluris æstimet*[2]. It fared also ill with Luther's memory after his death; whose widow, hoping some favours would be shewed to her for his merits, was shamefully disappointed—*Præter viduitatis incommoda, quæ multiplicia, experta est magnam ingratitudinem multorum pro quibus sperans beneficia ob in-*

[1] "Et cum de supplicio cujusdam capite damnati, ut ex more subscriberet, admoneretur, *Quam vellem,* inquit, *nescire literas!*"—Sueton. in Neron. c. 10.

[2] Melch. Adam. in Vit. Melanchth. *A.* [The editor has not seen this work, but has omitted the *que* which is after *tantos* in Barn.]

gentia mariti in Ecclesiam merita turpiter frustrata est[1]. So ordinary it is for men of admired worth, who have done public service either in Church or state, to be soonest forgotten.

96. Now having run through the principal circumstances of this reverend man's life, it behoves us to say something of his person, conversation, qualities, and the memorable accidents happening before the time of his death, and so leave his memory among worthy men.

For his person[2],—he was of a middle stature; a slender, spare man; his face oval, of fresh complexion, looking rather young than old; his hair, short and 259
curled, had few or no grey hairs; his eyes quick and sparkling, before he had the ill fortune to lose his sight. His natural constitution being hot and dry, it was conceived by skilful oculists his brain, heated with immoderate study, burnt up the crystalline humour of his eyes: and this was most probable; he being continually engaged in writing either for Church or state, his brain was like a laboratory kept hot with study, decayed his eyes, if there be any truth in the naturalist's observation, *Magna cogitatio obcæcat, abducto intus visu*[3]. And this he looked upon as the saddest affliction that ever befel him in his whole life; yet no doubt he was comforted with the words (which he had often read in Socrates) of Anthony the good monk unto Didymus, that learned man of Alexandria, —"Let it not grieve thee at all," saith he, "O noble Didymus, that thou art bereaved of thy corporal eyes and carnal sight; for, though you want such eyes as commonly are given to flies and gnats, yet hast thou greatly to rejoice that the eyes wherewith the

[1] Id. in Vit. Luth. *A.*

[2] Wood states that he was "of very mean port and presence."—Ath. Oxon. iii. 557.

[3] Plin. Hist. Nat. xi. [54.] *A.*

angels do behold their Maker, wherewith God is seen of men[1], are not taken from thee."

260 97. Our blessed Saviour said, "The light of the body is the eye;" for without these two luminaries which God hath placed in the microcosm of man, none can be said in this world to live a true happy day, who are under such a continual night of darkness; but that the intellectual light of the soul, the candle of the Lord within us, supplies that miserable defect with a far greater felicity by extraordinary endowments of the mind, which Seneca[2] calls *melior pars nostri.* And it is the best part of man indeed, though all the members and parts of our bodies are so excellently compacted together by the wisdom of the Creator, and have such a necessary dependence upon one another for the exercise of their several offices, that the *compositum* of man cannot be complete without them; and chiefly the eye, being the guide of the whole body, hath pre-eminence over the rest of the members, saith the philosopher[3], ὅτι μάλιστα ποιεῖ γνωρίζειν τι ἡμᾶς αὕτη τῶν αἰσθήσεων, "because by it we receive the greatest share of knowledge and understanding," it being the principal organ of sense for that use.

261 98. But the loss of his eyes, considering the cause, was no blemish to his person, but rather a mark of honour, as the Cæci among the Romans, a noble family, were so called, because of the notable service they did for the public good, *Claros et illustres viros militiæ domique, ex oculorum vitio cognomenta invenere,* saith Alex[ander] ab Alexand[ro][4]. Thus Constantine the Great, in honour

[1] [δι' ὧν καὶ ὁ Θεὸς θεωρεῖται, καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ φῶς καταλαμβάνεται.]—Socrat. iv. [25.] *A.*

[2] ["Nostri melior pars animus est."]—Senec. Nat. Quæst. [L. i. Opp. p. 831, Paris, 1627.]

[3] Arist. Metaph. i. [1.] *A.* [Barn. ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς.]

[4] i. 9. *A.* [But the words "claros...domique" relate, not to the Cæci,

of Paphnutius' sufferings for Christian religion, kissed the hole in his face out of which the tyrant Maximinus had bored his eye: "the good Emperor making much of the socket," saith Mr Fuller[1], "when the candle was put out." These outward windows being shut, the Doctor enjoyed more perfectly the sweet and seraphical contemplations of his own mind, without a disturbance from other objects; which being removed, he did take a complacency and delight only in himself, as Tully[2] saith, *Habet animus quo se delectet, etiam occlusis sensibus.* I may say truly of him thus, (though he was my father-in-law), that he was the Venerable Bede of our age; for many excellent tractates he published which he never saw with his own eyes[3], and they were done in as exact a manner 262
as when he had his faculty of sight at the best. The like Socrates[4] saith of Didymus, when he was blind; he not only interpreted Origen's writings, and made commentaries upon them, but set forth excellent treatises to defend the orthodox faith against the Arians. The Doctor's "Cosmography[5]" was the last book he writ with his own hand; after which voluminous work his eyes failed him, that he could neither see to write nor read without the help of an amanuensis, whom he kept to his dying day: yet he was not so totally deprived of his sight, (as some imagine), but he could discern a body or substance near hand, (though not the physiognomy of a face), so as to follow his leader, when he walked abroad.

99. He macerated his body with the immoderate

but to families mentioned before, who derived their names from animals —the Suilli, Porci, &c.]

[1] Holy State, b. iii. c. 15. [p. 183, Camb. 1642.] *A.*

[2] Cic. Tusc. Disput. l. v. ["Animo autem multis modis variisque delectari licet, etiam si non adhibeatur aspectus."—c. 38.]

[3] The parallel appears to consist in the circumstance that Bede *dictated* to the last moments of his life; for it is not said that he lost his sight.

[4] Socrat. iv. [25.] *A.* [5] Published in 1652.

exercises of his mind, often fasting, and taking little or nothing for the space of two or three days when he was upon painful studies, which made him look at times like a skeleton; yet then he was also of a cheerful spirit. He followed no exercise for his health, but walking in his garden, and then he used a kind of low whistling
263 with himself, either to recreate his spirits, or else (as it were) to sound an alarm against his enemies; like the old Germans, who affected a such-like tone, *asperitas soni, et fractum murmur*[1], when they went to war. All this while he was in deep meditation, preparing for an encounter with his adversary in some polemical discourse; the pen being his only weapon, in which he was as fortunate as Alexander with his sword; of whom it's said, *Cum nullo hostium unquam congressus est, quem non vicerit*[2], "He fought with none of his enemies, but he overcame them." So the Doctor had the same good fortune, in all his pen-combats to be conqueror: for which cause he was ordinarily called the *Primipilus*[3] and chief defender of prelacy; by Smectymnuus, "the Bishops' darling," by others, "the Puritan episcopal man." For his zeal and courage, I may truly say of him, he was a right Peter, of whom Casaubon[4] observes, out of the Greek fathers, *Petrum fuisse θερμὸν, fervido ingenio virum:* "St Peter was a man of a hot temper and disposition," that set him forward on all occasions, more than the other
264 disciples. So the Doctor was of the like disposition naturally, and inclined the more by study, much watching, and sitting up late at nights, that threw him often into fevers, to which he was very subject. Notwithstanding

[1] Tacit. de Morib. Germ. [c. 3.] *A.*

[2] Justin. XII. [xvi. 11.] *A.*

[3] "I am very glad that you—who are esteemed the *Primipilus* among the defenders of the late turgid and persecuting sort of prelacy," &c.—Baxter, in Heyl. Certam. Epist. 11.

[4] Casaub. Exercit. contra Baron. [p. 230, ed. Genev. 1654.] *A.*

his hot temper and constitution, he did so wisely correct and govern it, that he never fell into those paroxysms as to suffer his reason to be extinguished with passion; but his most fervent zeal was ever attended with deep knowledge; for he had an acute wit, a solid judgment, and exuberant fancy, to which was adjoined (that which is rare to be found in all these excellences together) a most prodigious and yet faithful memory; that he did not usually take notes, or make collections of readings out of authors, (as most scholars do), but committed what he read to his own memory, which, I believe, never failed him, in whatsoever he treasured up to make use of hereafter. Therefore it was a pitiful charge of Mr H. L'Estrange against him, that he misreported the words of Pareus, in putting down *quomodo* for *quando;* to which the Doctor answers thus for himself[1], whereby we may see what a true repository of things his memory 265
was—"I must tell you," saith he, "for him, that, being[2] plundered of his books, and keeping no remembrances and collections of his studies by him, he cannot readily resolve what edition he followed in his consulting with that author. He always thought that tenure *in Capite* was a nobler and more honourable tenure than to hold by *Copy;* and therefore carelessly neglected to commit any part of his readings unto notes and papers, of which he never found such want as in this particular which you so boldly charge upon him."

100. When the Esquire[3] taxed him again for having many helpers, as if he were beholden to other men's studies and pains about the composing of his books,—(that was such a notorious scandal that every one who

[1] Extran. Vap. 131-2. *A.* [The charge related to a passage in the Hist. of the Sabbath.]

[2] Barn. "is." (In the Extr. Vap. Heylyn speaks of himself in the third person.)

[3] Not L'Estrange, but Sanderson.

knew him could confute),—he in modest and most pious manner replied thus[1]: "Though I cannot say that I have many helpers, yet I cannot but confess in all humble gratitude that I have one great Helper, which is *instar omnium*, even the Lord my God; *auxilium meum a Do-*
266 *mino*, 'my help cometh even from the Lord, which hath made heaven and earth,' as the Psalmist hath it. And I can say, with the like humble acknowledgments of God's mercies to me, as Jacob did, when he was asked about the quick dispatch which he had made in preparing savoury meat for his aged father—*Voluntas Dei fuit, ut tam cito occurreret mihi quod volebam*, (Gen. xxvii. 20): 'It is God's goodness, and his only, that I am able to do what I do.' And as for any human helpers, as the French courtiers use to say of King Lewis the Eleventh[2], 'that all his council rid upon one horse,' because he relied upon his own judgment and abilities only,—so I may very truly say, that one poor hackney horse will carry all my helpers used, be they never so numerous. The greatest help which I have had (since it pleased God to make my own sight unuseful to me), as to writing and reading, hath come from one whom I had entertained for my clerk or amanuensis, who, though he reasonably well understood both Greek and Latin, yet had he no further education in the way of learn-
267 ing than what he brought with him from the school, and a poor country school."

101. His adversaries accused him sometimes for severity in his writings, but they never could for virulency,—no, not the strict Sabbatarians, who were chiefly offended with him for his History of the Sabbath. The Ministers of Surrey and Buckinghamshire returned him thanks[3] in the name of themselves and their party, for

[1] Exam. Hist. ii. 206. *A.*

[2] Barn. "second."

[3] Certam. Epist. 32.

dealing so candidly with them by all meek and loving persuasions, when he writ upon that subject, and especially for his Preface before the History[1]. He once met with some rude usages in court, though that is the place ordinarily of best breeding and most civility; no other reason could be imagined but because he was envied by his fellow Chaplains, who saw him then a rising man, and most likely to be an ascendant over them if the old King and Archbishop had lived[2]. As to the Earl of E.'s speech, calling him a begging scholar[3],—such great persons do take the liberty to say what they please of their inferiors, and none must control them: however the young scholar came not to his Lordship as a mendicant; for he asked nothing at his 268
hands but to accept the Vindication of his Order, which the Earl was bound to defend for his honour sake, but could not with that learning as the historian had done. In the height of his prosperity, he abated nothing of his wonted studies, but rather increased them, as it was said of him, *Ego quo major fuero, tanto plus laborabo*[4]. His whole life, (I may say), was a continued study, unto death; for all his delight, time, thoughts, and business was taken up in his books, that he lived no longer than he could be an author, and that at the last a most profitable one to his King and country, as in his History of the Presbyterians, which was his farewell book to the world; which no sooner he had prepared for the press but he died, like the ancient Romans, of whom Tacitus[5] saith, *Cecidere omnes versi in hostem*, "They fell with their faces turned towards the enemy." Finally, he worthily deserved that character

[1] The Preface is addressed "To them who, being themselves mistaken, have misguided others, in these new doctrines of the Sabbath."—Tracts, 321.

[2] Sup. pp. xxvii, lxviii.

[3] Sup. pp. xxvii, lxxi.

[4] Capitolin. c. 2. *A.*

[5] Hist. iii. 84.

of praise and thanks which the good Emperor A. Severus bestowed on them who discharged their office well, saying, *Gratias tibi agit respublica*[1]; but it was
269 his ill fortune to live in such ungrateful times, that, according to the French proverb,

> Qui sert commun nul ne le paye,
> Et sil defaut chacun labbaye :

"He that serves the good of the community, is controlled by every one, and rewarded by none." Yet, however, to his perpetual honour, it may be said of him truly, as was of the famous Scaliger, and whosoever reads his Life will confess the same, viz.: *Clarissimi et illustrissimi sumus.* [*Regibus*], *Principibus et Proceribus noti sumus. Literarum amantissimi sumus. Ab omni ambitione et invidia remoti sumus.... Inimici nostri virtutem, non vitium, in nobis hactenus insectati sunt*[2]: "We are descended of an illustrious family; to Princes and Nobles we are well known; most lovers also of learning, far from ambition in ourselves and the envy of others. Our enemies may rail at our virtues, but they cannot reprove us for vice."

102. Therefore in the next place we shall speak of his conversation, that was free from all scandal or common immoralities, which none of his most inveterate enemies could tax him with, but only for his religion and loyalty, in which they thought he was too forward, and more zealous than many others[3]; but that
270 was no crime, but conscience. He was strict in the education of his children, to train them up in religious exercises, especially to get the Scripture by heart; that

[1] Lamprid. c. 4. *A.* [ap. Hist. Aug. Scriptores, p. 124, ed. Salmas. Paris, 1620.]

[2] Jul. Scalig. de Vetust Gent. Scal. 63. *A.* [The first and second clauses, as here given, are in a reversed order.]

[3] "He was a bold and undaunted man among his friends and foes, and therefore by some of them he was accounted too high for the function he professed."—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 557.

one of them[1], having a singular memory like her father, could give an account of all the historical passages methodically, from chapter to chapter, through most of the Bible: which an old Presbyterian Minister in Lincolnshire desiring to hear from her, she performed accordingly; at which the good man stood amazed, saying—"I did not think episcopal men brought up their children in this manner; for Doctor Heylyn's sake I shall have a better opinion of them than ever I had." So strangely is that party prepossessed with prejudice and unchristian thoughts, as if the episcopal Clergy did not educate their children in the fear of God; whose care and conscience is, and hath always been, to instruct them in this lesson,—To fear God, and honour the King: which whole sentence, and sometimes only the latter clause of it, for fear of Popery and arbitrary power, some zealous Presbyters have caused to be razed out of their Church's painting. At last this man had 271
the good luck to meet with Dr Heylyn at his own parish of Laceby, in Lincolnshire; where, after some discourses, the Doctor so well settled him in all points, that he lived and died a true Conformist to the Church of England. His chief pleasure was to converse with scholars and divines, from whose company his house seldom cooled; and they were as much delighted with his learned society, for their own improvements, that any one might say of him in this case, who familiarly communed with him, *Nunquam accedo ad te, quin abs te abeam doctior*[2]. If he had no such company, his ordinary conversation was very pleasant at meals with his own family: but if he was disturbed out of them times, by them or strangers (excepting scholars), whereby he was taken off from his usual studies, indeed he was morose and somewhat peevish for a while, till he

[1] Probably the biographer's wife. [2] Terent. Eunuch. iv. vii. 21.

diverted his thoughts from his book, and then no man could be more complaisant, and very jocular; yet withal keeping up the gravity that became his degree. For
272 an hour after dinner he would stay with ordinary guests, and then no more to be seen of him till night; but, like *Diogenes in dolio*, he was musing in his study. He made seldom visits to his friends, but loved to be visited himself; at which they took no exception, knowing his infirmity of sight rendered him unable to stir abroad, or otherwise he could have repaid the like ceremonies. I have known several reverend persons, who were old Bishops before the war, have honoured him with visits in Abingdon, and some new Bishops now living, as the Right Reverend Fathers the Bishop of Durham[1], the Bishop of Lincoln[2], and the Bishop of Exeter[3]. And he wanted not good company amongst his own neighbours in Abingdon, particularly Doctor Tucker, a civilian; Mr Jennings, an ingenious person, and ejected Fellow of St John's College in Oxon[4]; and Mr Blower, a witty lawyer; who were his constant visitors, and in whose company he was extremely delighted at all times.

103. For his generosity on all occasions, (as well as free hospitality),—to help the public concerns at the time
273 of any royal aid or benevolence, to serve his Prince and his country, no man could shew himself more active and forward to contribute according to his power, and sometimes above it, when he was scarce warm in his ecclesiastical preferments; soon after which the sad wars broke forth, that despoiled him and the regular Clergy. In the year 1639, when his Majesty began his journey against the Scots, upon the liberal contribution

[1] Nathaniel Crewe, to whom this Life was dedicated.
[2] Barlow. [3] Lamplugh, afterwards Archbishop of York.
[4] Robert Jennings, of St John's College, who made a fortune as master of the Free-School at Abingdon.—Wood, Fasti Oxon. ii. 103.

of the Clergy, he gave fifty pounds out of his parsonage in Alresford, and for South-warnborough thirteen pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, at the same time when he had not paid off his first-fruits for this living. He was the first of all the Clergy that subscribed in Hampshire: being a leading man, his good example so moved others, that the Clergy of that county exceeded their other brethren; they raised for the King's use the sum of £1348. 2*s*. 4*d*. After his Majesty King Charles the Second's most happy restauration, towards the royal benevolence he gave fifty pounds for his parsonage of Alresford, besides his share of a thousand pound, as he was prebendary of Westminster. I should have added also, (which I had almost forgotten)—in the 274
beginning of the war he gave to the old King money and plate to the value of an hundred pounds; by all which, freely parted out of his purse, and more than his estate could well bear, having many children to provide for, he sufficiently confuted the calumny of L'Strange, who said, according to his gentile and new mode of writing hard words, the Doctor was *philargurous*[1]; when, poor man, what he parted with, and what he was plundered of, he had scarce enough left to "insconce his person from frigidity[2]," according to the good squire's language.

104. For his charity to the poor, he had always a liberal heart to cast his bread upon the waters, when

[1] L'Estrange, Hist. 45. *A*. [The reference is incorrect.]

[2] Heylyn (Observ. p. 5), in speaking of L'Estrange's style, says that such affectation is "a folly handsomely derided in an old blunt epigram, where the spruce gallant thus bespeaks his page or laquey—

"Diminutive and my defective slave,
Reach my corps-coverture immediately:
'Tis my complacency that vest to have,
T' insconce my person from frigidity.
The boy believed all Welsh his master spoke,
Till railed in English—'Rogue, go fetch my cloak!'"

he had bread to cast, that is, when he was in a condition to relieve others; at which time he gave alms to his enemies, as well as to the honest poor of the King's party; for being asked the question when he lived in Abingdon, whether he would serve St Ellen's poor, being of the adverse party against the royalists—he answered, "No exception ought to be made in the case of charity." Wherein he followed the example
75 of our blessed Lord, who had compassion on the poor Samaritans as well as upon the Jews; to whom he shewed many acts of pity[1] and goodness, besides the cure of their bodily infirmities: it's probable he gave them an alms-penny, for which reason Judas carried the bag[2], that had a common stock in it for the poor, to be used as occasion served. The good Doctor hath sent meat from his own table to the prisoners in gaol; and at Abingdon, such as were condemned to die, he took pains to instruct and prepare them for death, and to administer the holy Sacrament unto them before their execution, particularly to one Captain Francis and his company, condemned with him at Abingdon assizes; the Captain being a known royalist, for which reason it was thought the judge was so severe against him upon his trial, and plainly partial in the examination of witnesses of both sides. The Doctor, after the sentence of condemnation, went to prison to pray with him, and administered the Sacrament to him and the other prisoners who were penitent; provided bread and
76 wine for them at his own charge; all which certainly was the most Christian act of piety and charity that could be shewed to those miserable souls. I could instance many other particulars which manifested his goodness, wherein he ought to be followed as a worthy example, but that it's time now to draw near to his end.

[1] Ed. "piety."

[2] Joh. xii. 6; xiii. 29.

For "Do the prophets live for ever[1]?" as the good prophet himself said. No, 'tis the deplored condition of mankind, to live a while for to die; after the holy men of God had served God in their generation, they must fulfil the end of their prophecy with their lives—as God said to Daniel, *Tu autem abi ad terminum*[2],—"Go thou thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days:" on which Geierus and Junius[3] comment thus—*Compara te ad mortem, disposita domo tua, et contentus hac revelatione, non* [*nec*] *ultra labores* [*curiosius de prophetiarum istarum interpretatione*]*; et requiesces a* [*molestiis et*] *laboribus; corpore in sepulcro, anima vero in sinu Abrahæ. Stabis in hæreditate tua cœlesti et æterna, vel illa ejus parte quæ tibi ex decreto Dei continget*—"Prepare thyself for death, set thy house in order, be content with this 277
revelation; thou shalt labour no more, but rest from all thy labours and troubles, with thy body in the grave, but thy soul in Abraham's bosom; thou shalt abide for ever in thy celestial inheritance, and in that degree of glory which God hath decreed for thee."

105. So all these things happened to this good man; and I may call him prophetical, because he strangely foresaw his own death, set his house in order, and prepared himself accordingly, and an end was soon put after to his days, and of making many books: because "much study," as Solomon saith, "is a weariness of the flesh[4]," though the mind or spirit of a man is never tired out or can be satisfied, because knowledge is no burden. By the Almighty's good pleasure and providence, he was now removed from his house in

[1] Zech. i. 5.

[2] "Tu autem abi ad præfinitum."—Lat. Vulg. Dan. xii. 13.

[3] The passage is abridged from Poole's Synopsis in loc., and is made up from other commentators besides the two named.

[4] Eccles. xii. 12.

Abingdon to his house in Westminster, (where he lived [1661-2]
not long), and from thence to the house of darkness,
where all must take up their last lodging. "The
grave is mine house," saith Job: "I have made my
bed in the darkness[1]." "What man is he that liveth,
278 and shall not see death? Shall he deliver his soul
from the hand of the grave[2]?" Is not this "the house
appointed for all living[3]?" According to the French
proverb, three things carry away all with them—

L'Eglise, la court et la mort:
L'Eglise prend de vif et mort,
La court prend le droict et le tort,
La mort prend le foible et le fort.

The Church, the court, and death take all;
The Church both living and the dead install,
To court all causes come, either right or wrong,
But death destroys all mortals, weak or strong.

106. Therefore we shall speak of the circumstances foregoing his death, and the memorable accidents happening to him about the same time. He had before been grievously afflicted with a quartan ague, that deadly enemy unto old age, and seldom cured by the
279 physician—*Febris quartana opprobrium medici.* The poor Doctor had wrestled with the disease a long time, and seemingly got the victory of it; for the paroxysms or usual fits of this sore distemper had departed from him, but withal so violently shaken him, and left such a weakness behind them, so exhausted his strength and vital spirits, that any one might perceive what strange alterations his sickness had wrought in him: for he was before of a fresh lively complexion, a man vigorous in action; but now grown feeble and weak, of a pale discoloured countenance, the forerunner of death, his cheeks fallen, his eyes a little sunk within

[1] Job xvii. 13.
[2] Ps. lxxxix. 48.
[3] Job xxx. 23.

[1662] his temples, and leanness of face and whole body that shewed he was hastening on fast to the end of his pilgrimage. Yet I dare not say there is such a predetermined term of every man's life, which is immutable, but the great God of heaven, from whom we derive our being, can lengthen or shorten our days, as his wisdom pleaseth; and on the other side, this is a decree most absolute and irrevocable, *Statutum est omnibus ut semel moriantur*[1]—"It is appointed for all men once to die." In reverence of which decree, such 280
a heavenly man as the Doctor was could not but be prepared (as every religious soul is) for to die, or put off his mortal body.

107. Before which time two accidents happened to him, one suddenly after the other, which he looked upon as presaging providences of his death; for he was a man very critical in his observation of unusual things, and, I may say in this particular, prophetical. For on the Saturday night before he sickened, he dreamed that he was in an extraordinary pleasant and delightful place; where standing and admiring the beauty and glory of it, he saw the late King, his master, who said to him, "Peter, I will have you buried under your seat at church, for you are rarely seen but there or at your study:" which dream he told his wife the next morning, saying, it was a significant one; giving her charge, when he died, there to bury him. A few hours after, his maid holding his surplice against the fire to air it, one of the billets upon the fire tumbled down, the flame of which catched hold of 281
the surplice and burned it; at which accident, so soon following his dream, he said, "That was ominous, and he should never wear surplice more," as indeed he did not; like Aaron the high priest, when he was

[1] "Statutum est hominibus semel mori."—Heb. ix. 27, Lat. Vulg.

stripped of his priestly garments by God's own ap- [1662]
pointment, he must certainly die. These two accidents, falling out together, made such a strong impression upon his mind, that on the same day, (though he was seemingly well as he used to be), he did not go to church; but on the Monday following went forth in the morning, [and] staid out all the day: in which time he bought a house of one Mrs Floyd in the Almonry, paid his money for it, renewed the lease of it, and brought home the writings; and then told his wife the reason of his being from home all that time, (which was an unusual thing with him), was because "he had bought her a house to live in, near the abbey, that she might serve God in that church, as he had done." All which, she not knowing before, seemed strange and terrifying to her. Not thinking the precedent accidents
82 of the dream and surplice could have wrought such an indelible impression on his fancy, she urged all the arguments and persuasions she possibly could to drive away this melancholy humour; but all in vain: for he still persisted in his opinion, (which proved too sad a truth), because he was a man who rarely dreamed in his life, and when he did, he could remember no circumstances of it; which puts me in mind what Pliny hath written to this purpose, that there be some persons of so curious and excellent temper who are seldom or never disturbed with dreams, but if it so happen to them at any time, it is a deadly sign—*Quibus mortiferum fuisse signum*, (saith he), *contra consuetudinem somnium, invenimus exempla*[1].

108. That there is a truth in some dreams I do not question; though I would not have men too credulous of them, because this is not now God's economy or

[1] Plin. Hist. Nat. x. 75. *A*. [Barn. reads *somniorum*. The Frankfort ed. of 1599 gives *somnium*, with *somniare* and *somnum* as variations.]

his ordinary way of dispensation under the Gospel, to manifest his mind to us, as he did to the patriarchs before the law, and afterward to the holy prophets, to whom he made known himself πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως[1], "at sundry times and in divers manners," and par- 283
ticularly in this way and manner of dreams. Yet as God cannot be limited in his will and power at any time, when he hath a mind to do an extraordinary thing, I would therefore not too rigidly condemn all dreams for delusions, that are ascertained to us by the testimony of wise and credible persons, whom we know are no way inclined to be either fanciful or fanatic. Omitting what Artemidorus hath written in his Oneirocritics, I take Cœlius Rhodiginus for a most learned and faithful author; who reports of himself, that, when he could not explain a hard passage he met with in Pliny, that puzzled his brain, it was made known and revealed to him in a dream, if he did look in such a book he should find it. *Librum arripui* (saith he), *sicut somniaveram sic comperi*[2]—"I took up the book, and found the same accordingly as I dreamed." Neither was that less wonderful which Joseph Scaliger tells us of his father's dream, who in his sleep read an epitaph which he never saw with his eyes or ever heard of before, yet proved most true; whence he inferreth 284
by this example the prodigy and yet certainty of some dreams—*Prodigiosa etiam usque ad miraculum ex somniis vaticinatio*[3]. We may believe his relation; for he was a man of that integrity and great spirit as he

[1] Heb. i. 1. *A.* [See Sanderson, Sermons, 270, ed. Lond. 1686.]

[2] Rhodigin. Lection. Antiq. l. xxvii. c. 9. *A.* ["Quieti me tradideram; mox, ratiocinans mecum, librum videbar agnoscere, immo etiam locum et phylluræ partem, ubi id foret exscriptum. Excitatus denique, cœpi oblata per somnum repetere. Illusionem putavi; sed, quum insciticæ formido infestaret, amplius, ne quidquid intentatum relinquerem, librum arripui," &c.—Col. 1498, ed. Colon. Allobr. 1620.]

[3] Jul. Cæs. Scal. Vita, p. 48. [Lugd. Bat. 1594.] *A.*

would scorn to tell a lie. I cannot omit what Dr Heylyn himself hath written of Archbishop Laud[1],—that "he was much given to take notice of dreams, and commit them to writing. Amongst which I find this for one; that on Friday night, the twenty-fourth of January, 1639, his father (who died six and forty years before) came to him, and that, to his thinking, he was as well and as cheerful as ever he saw him; that his father asked him what he did there; and that after some speech, he demanded of his father, how long he would stay there? And his father made this answer, that he should stay till he had him along with him. A dream which made such impression on him, as to add this note to it in his breviate, 'that though he was not moved with dreams, yet he thought [fit] to remember this.'"

285 109. I know many impute those dreams in our sleep to a melancholy temper, which the Doctor was never subject to, either in time of sickness or health, but was a man always of most cheerful spirit. I confess that black humour presenteth strange things to the imagination and phantasy of some persons, that Aristotle in his Problems ascribes the prophecy of the Sibyl women thereto[2], and Cardanus, the revelations of hermits, because living in solitude and on bad diet. *Quantum poterat* (saith he) *in illis humor melancholicus*[3]. The old philosophers also were of opinion that all prophecy did proceed from the strength of imagination, by the conjunction of the understanding, which they call *intellectus passibilis*[4], with the other faculty of the *intellectus agens;* whereby they concluded, (contrary to the holy Scripture), that old men were not capable of

[1] Cyp. Ang. 422. *A.* [=450.]
[2] Arist. Probl. xxx. i. 19.
[3] Cardan. de Subtil. l. xviii. p. 1187. *A.*
[4] Ed. "*possibilis.*"

prophesying, by reason of the weakness of their imagination and other natural faculties, decayed in them through age. But the quite contrary appeareth in scripture examples, that they were generally aged men, 286
or well stricken in years, who had the gift of prophecy. Though their eye-sight failed them, as [it] did with Jacob[1], yet they were called seers[2], because they foresaw future things. They were so old, that for their age and gravity they were sometimes upbraided; so Elisha by the children was mocked, who undoubtedly were so taught by their ungodly fathers, to say of him, "Go up, thou bald-head[3]." Neither doth a melancholy constitution, (as some have imagined), make men prophetical, either in sleeping or waking, but on the contrary renders them uncapable; as it is evident by the examples of Jacob and Elisha; the first of whom, being in deep sadness, (which is the inseparable companion of melancholy), for the loss of his son Joseph, was at the same disabled from prophecy, or otherwise he could have told what fortune had befallen his son, who was not dead, but sold by his brethren. Hence Mercer tells us it was an ordinary saying among the Rabbins, *Mœror prophetiam impedit*[4]. In like manner the Prophet Elisha, for the sorrow of Elijah his master taken away from him, and the anger he 287
had conceived against Jehoram, that wicked prince, whilst these two passions were predominant over him, he could not prophesy, till the minstrel played with her musical instrument, to drive away his melancholy sadness, and then "the hand of the Lord," (it's said), "came upon him, and he prophesied, saying, Thus saith the Lord[5]," &c.

[1] Gen. xlviii. 10. [2] 1 Sam. ix. 9. [3] 2 Kings ii. 23.

[4] Merc. in Genes. [xxxvii. 35, p. 621, Genev. 1593.] *A.* [Comp. J. Smith, Select Discourses, 265, ed. Lond. 1821.]

[5] 2 Kings iii. 15-16. Comp. Smith, 265-7.

110. By all which I hope it is evident that hypochondriacal persons, who are grievously afflicted with melancholy, are not thereby disposed to prophesy; and then by necessary consequence it followeth that dreams arising from the same natural cause cannot be said prophetical, no more than that of Albertus Magnus, who dreamed that hot scalding pitch was poured upon his breast, and so soon as he awakened from his sleep, he vomited up abundance of adust choler[1]. Such dreams certainly arise from the ill habitude of the body, through fulness of bad humours.

111. But there is another sort of dreams which may be called divine or supernatural, which are imprinted on the mind of man either by God himself
288 or his holy angels, from which necessarily follows prophecy; because such extraordinary impressions are usual for those ends. And this I take to be the reverend Doctor's dream, who was a man of so great piety, as well as study, that I cannot think otherwise but that he was able to discern the different motions of his soul, whether they were natural or supernatural; of which last he was so firmly assured by his own reason and great learning, that no arguments could dissuade him to the contrary. St Austine saith, *Animam habere quandam vim divinationis in seipsa*[2], "That the soul of man hath a certain power of divination in itself," when it is abstracted from bodily actions. I confess then it must needs be drawn up to higher communion with God than ordinary; but more immediately, I rather think with Tertullian, a little before death, about the time of its separation from the body, because many dying persons have wonderfully foretold

[1] Rhodig. xxvii. 7. [p. 1494.] *A.* [For "*scalding* pitch" and "*adust* choler," Rhodiginus has "*atriorem* picem" and "bilem *atram*."]

[2] "*Nonnulli quidem volunt* animam," &c.—Aug. de Gen. ad lit. xii. 13. (T. iii. 306, ed. Bened. Paris, 1680.)

things which afterward came to pass; the reason of which that good father giveth—(and therein I judge he was no Montanist)—when he saith, *Quia anima* 289
in ipso divortio penitus agitari enunciet quæ vidit, quæ audit, quæ incipit nosse[1]—"Because the soul then acts most vigorously at the last breath, declares what things it seeth, it heareth, and what it begins to know, now entering into eternity."

112. So the heavenly and pious Doctor, according to the prenotions of his death, foreseeing his time was short, gave his wife strict charge again, (that very night, as he was going to bed, and in appearance well), that she should bury him according to his dream. She, affrighted with this dreadful charge, sat by him, while he fell into a sleep, out of which he soon awaked in a feverish distemper and violent hiccough, which she taking notice of, said, "I fear, Mr Heylyn, you have got cold with going abroad to-day;" but he answered very readily, "No, it was death's hiccough;" and so it proved, for he grew worse and worse till he died. Now some, I hear, impute the cause of his sickness to the eating of a tansey[2]; but this is false, for I heard the contrary relation from her own mouth. His dream was on the Saturday night, his surplice happened to be burnt on Sunday morning, all which day he passed 290
in private meditation in his study; and on the Monday, what time he had to spare he spent in providing a settlement for his wife, as aforesaid.

[1] Tertull. de Anim. c. 53. *A.* [This quotation has been left as given by Barnard. The words of Tertullian are, "Hinc denique evenit sæpe animam in ipso divortio potentius agitari, sollicitiore obtutu, extraordinaria loquacitate, dum ex majori suggestu, jam in libero constituta, per superfluum quod adhuc cunctatur in corpore, enuntiat, quæ videt, quæ audit, quæ incipit nosse."]

[2] "He went to bed in as good bodily health as he had done before for many years; but after his first sleep he found himself taken with a violent fever, occasioned (as was conceived by his physician) by eating of a little tansey at supper."—Vern. 282.

113. But to return again to this good man's sick- [1662]
ness, of which the true cause, as his physician said, was the reliques of his long quartan ague, not purged out by physic, to which he was always averse,—[it] threw him into a malignant fever, in which he remained insensible till some few hours before he died; but when it pleased God to restore unto him his senses again, he most zealously glorified his name with praises and thanksgivings for his mercies towards himself and family,—earnestly praying for them, and often commending them to God's heavenly care and protection. At the same time he left a little book of prayers with his dear wife for her devotion, which she shewed afterward to me, being a collection of many collects out of the Common Prayer, to every one of which he had added a most fervent prayer of his own composure: that little book she said should be the prayer-book
291 of her devotion while she lived. Finally, as his time grew shorter and shorter, he prayed with more vehemency of spirit, sometimes to God, sometimes to his Saviour, and to the blessed Comforter of his soul, rejoicing exceedingly that he should live to Ascension-day, uttering forth most heavenly expressions, to the sweet comfort of others and principally of his own soul, with a πληροφορία[1] or full assurance of his salvation through Christ Jesus; which last unspeakable joy and consolation, above all other, God is pleased to bestow upon the faithful, and seal it to them with the earnest of his Spirit at the hour of death. At which time, his soul now ready to depart and be with Christ his Saviour, one Mr Merrol, a verger of the church, coming into his chamber to see him, he presently called him to his bed-side, saying to him—"I know it is church-time with you, and I know this is Ascen-

[1] Heb. vi. 11; x. 22.

sion-day; I am ascending to the Church triumphant, I go to my God and Saviour, unto joys celestial and to hallelujahs eternal:" with which and other like expressions he died upon Holy Thursday, anno Dom. 1662[1], in the climacterial year of his life, three score 292
and three, in which number the sevenths and ninths do often fatally concur[2]. He was afterward buried under his Subdean's seat, according to his dream and desire. His death lamented by all good men, because there was a pillar, though not a Bishop, fallen in the Church: of whom I may say in the poet's words—

> Quando ullum invenient parem?
> Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
> Nulli flebilior quam mihi[3].

> When will they find another such? his fall
> Was most by me lamented, much by all.

114. God Almighty had blessed him with eleven children, four of which are still living. His monument is erected on the north side of the abbey in Westminster, over against the Subdean's seat, with this following epitaph, which the reverend Dean of the church then, Dr Earl[4], did himself compose in honour of his memory:

[1] Barn. "1663." But 1662 is the year given by Vernon, and in the epitaph; and it was in that year that Ascension-day fell on May 8, which the epitaph mentions as the day of Heylyn's death.

[2] See Sir Thomas Browne on Vulgar Errors, b. iv. c. 12.

[3] Hor. Carm. i. xxiv. 8-10.

[4] Bishop of Worcester, 1662; of Salisbury, 1663; died 1665.—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 716-9.

[Hic jacet e propinquo] depositum mortale
PETRI HEYLYN, S. T. P.
Hujus Ecclesiæ Prebendarii et Subdecani,
Viri plane memorabilis,
Egregiis dotibus instructissimi,
Ingenio acri et fœcundo,
Judicio subacto.
Memoria ad prodigium tenaci;
Cui adjunxit incredibilem in studiis patientiam,
Quæ cessantibus oculis non cessarunt.
Scripsit varia et plurima
Quæ jam manibus hominum teruntur;
Et argumentis non vulgaribus
Stylo non vulgari suffecit.
Constans ubique Ecclesiæ
Et Majestatis Regiæ assertor,
Nec florentis magis utriusque
Quam afflictæ:
Idemque perduellium et schismaticæ factionis
Impugnator acerrimus:
Contemptor invidiæ
Et animo infracto.
Plura ejusmodi meditanti
Mors indixit silentium;
Ut sileatur
Efficere non potest.
Obiit anno Ætat. 63,
[Et 8 die Maii, A.D. 1662.
Posuit hoc illi mœstissima Conjux.]

In English.

A monument of mortality of Peter Heylyn, Doctor of Divinity. Prebendary and Subdean of this church, A man truly worthy of remembrance, Endowed with excellent parts, Of sharp and pregnant wit, A solid and clear judgment, A memory tenacious to a miracle, Whereunto he added an incredible patience in study, And therein still persisted, when his eye-sight ceased. He writ many books upon various subjects (that are now in men's hands), containing in them nothing that's vulgar either for style or argument. On all occasions he was a constant assertor of the Church's right and the King's prerogative, as well in their afflicted as prosperous estate. Also he was a severe and vigorous opposer of rebels and schismatics, A despiser of envy, and a man of undaunted spirit. While he was seriously intent on these, and many more like studies, Death commanded him to be silent, but could not silence his fame.

He died in the sixty-third year of his age.

A CATALOGUE OF SUCH BOOKS AS WERE WRITTEN BY THE LEARNED DOCTOR[1].

1. *Spurius*, a Tragedy, MS., 1616.
2. *Theomachia*, a Comedy, MS., 1619.
3. *Geography* [Microcosmus, *a Description of the Great World*] printed at Oxon twice, A.D. 1621 [1622. W.] and 1624 in quarto, and afterwards in A.D. 1652 enlarged into folio, under the title of *Cosmography*[2].
4. *The History of St George*, Lond. 1631, reprinted 1633[3].
5. An Essay, called *Augustus*, 1631 [1632. W.] since inserted into his *Cosmography*.
6. *The History of the Sabbath*, 1635[4], reprinted 1636.
7. [*A Coal from the Altar, or*] *An Answer to the Bishop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham*, 1636, twice reprinted.
8. *A short Treatise concerning a Form of Prayer to be used according to what is enjoined in the Fifty fifth Canon:* written at the request of the Bishop of Winchester, [Curle] 1637 [printed in *Ecclesia Vindicata*, and, as part of it, in the *Tracts*.][5]
9. *An Answer to Mr Burton's two Seditious Sermons*, A.D. 1637.
10. Antidotum Lincolniense, *or an Answer to the Bishop of Lincoln's Book, entituled Holy Table, Name, and Thing*, 1637, reprinted 1638.
11. *An uniform Book of Articles, fitted for Bishops and Archdeacons in their Visitations*, 1640.

[1] The additions in brackets are chiefly from Wood's article on Heylyn, Ath. Oxon. iii. 557-567. Wood's order has also been followed, as more strictly chronological than that of Barnard; the variations being mentioned in the notes.

[2] The *Geography* went through eight editions before the appearance of the larger work. There are at least five editions of the *Cosmography*—the last, edited by Bohun, appeared in 1703.—Biog. Brit. iv. 2593-4.

[3] The order of 4 and 5 is reversed by Barnard.

[4] Barn. "1631," which is an error. Wood says that the first and second editions were both of 1636. The "History" is reprinted in the "Tracts," 1681.

[5] Barn. transposes 8 and 9.

12. De Jure paritatis Episcoporum, *or concerning the Peerage of Bishops*, 1640, MS. [afterwards printed in the *Tracts*, 1681.]
13. *A Reply to Dr Hackwel, concerning the Sacrifice of the Eucharist*, MS., 1641[1].
14. *A Help to English History, containing a succession of all the Kings, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Bishops, &c. of England and Wales;* first written in the year 1641, under the name of Robert Hall; enlarged and [set forth] in Dr Heylyn's name, [1661.][2]
15. *The History of Episcopacy*, first under the name of Theoph. Churchman, [1642], afterwards in his own name, reprinted 1657 [in the *Ecclesia Vindicata*].
16. *The History of Liturgies*, written 1642 [printed in the *Eccl. Vindicata*, 1657].
17. *A Relation of the Lord Hopton's Victory at Bodmin* [on the 19th of Jan. 1642. Oxf. 1642-3. Wood also mentions a pamphlet on a later victory of Lord Hopton, 1643, which bears the title of *The Round-heads' Remembrancer;* and "is generally said to have been written by Heylyn."]
18. *A Relation of the Queen's Return from Holland, and the Siege of Newark* [1642].
19. *A View of the Proceedings in the West for a Pacification.*
20. *A Letter to a Gentleman in Leicestershire*[3] *about the Treaty.*
21. *A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir John Gell* [1643][4].
22. *The Black Cross, shewing that the Londoners were the cause of the Rebellion.*

[1] "'Tis said also that in the year 1641 Heylyn wrote and published a book entitled *Persecutio Undecima*, Lond. 1641, 48, qu. 1681, fol. [not in the folio *Tracts* of that date]; but finding no such thing in his diary, which I have several times perused, I cannot be so bold to affirm that he was the author."—Wood.

[2] Barn. places this work according to the time at which Heylyn published it in his own name. He had owned it in the *Certamen Epistolare*, p. 329. (The passage is quoted sup. p. clxii. note.) "This useful work has been frequently reprinted; but the best edition is that enlarged by Wright, Lond. 1773."—Bliss, in Wood, iii. 560.

[3] So Vernon and Wood. "Lincolnshire," Barn.

[4] "This, if I mistake not, is the same with a pamphlet entitled *Thieves, Thieves! or a Relation of Sir Jo. Gell's proceedings in Derbyshire, in gathering up the Rents of the Lords and Gentlemen of that country by pretended authority from the two Houses of Parliament.*"—Wood. (Barn. places 18 between 21 and 22).

23. *The Rebel's Catechism:* all these [17 to 23] printed at Oxon, 1644 [1642-3].
24. *An Answer to the Papists' groundless clamour, who nickname the Religion of the Church of England by the name of a Parliamentary Religion*, [written] 1644, [published 1645, with the title of *Parliament's Power in Laws for Religion; or an Answer to that old and groundless Calumny of the Papists, nicknaming, &c.;* reprinted 1653, with the title of *The way of Reformation of the Church of England declared and justified, &c.;* and included in the *Ecclesia Vindicata.*]
25[1]. *A Relation of the Death and Sufferings of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1644.
26. Bibliotheca Regia, *or the Royal Library*, 8vo. [Lond. 1649, 50, 59][2].
27. *The Stumbling-block of Disobedience Removed*, written 1644, printed 1658, [reprinted in the *Tracts.*]
28. *The Promised Seed*, in English Verse.
[29. *The Undeceiving of the People in the Point of Tithes.* Lond. 1648-51. Included in the *Ecclesia Vindicata.*]
30. Theologia Veterum, *or an Exposition of the Creed*, folio, 1654 [1673.]
31. *Survey of France, with an account of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey*, 1656, quarto.
32. *Observations on Mr Hamon L'Estrange's History of King Charles the First*, 1656[3].
33. Extraneus Vapulans, *or* [*the Observator rescued from the violent but vain assaults of H. L'Estrange, Esq., and the Back-blows of Dr Nich. Bernard, an Irish Dean*]—a defence of those *Observations.* Lond. 1656[4].
34. Ecclesia Vindicata, *or the Church of England Justified*, &c., quarto, 1657. [Including Nos. 8, 15, 16, 24, 29.]
35. Respondet Petrus, *or the Answer of Peter Heylyn, D.D., to Dr Bernard's book, entituled The Judgment of the late Primate*, &c., quarto, Lond. 1658 [with an *Appendix in answer to*

[1] The order in Barnard is 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 37, 39, 40, 35, 32, 33, 36, 38, 14, 34, 26, 42, 43, 44.

[2] "Heylyn's name is not set to it, but 'tis generally known to be his collection from some of the works of King Charles I."—Wood.

[3] Barn. "1648." [4] Barn. "1658."

certain Passages in Mr Sanderson's History of the Life and Reign of King Charles.]

36. *A short History of King Charles the First, from his Cradle to his Grave*[1], 1658.

37. Examen Historicum, *or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some Modern Histories.* [viz. Fuller's Church History and Sanderson's Histories of Mary, Queen of Scots, James I., and Charles I.; with an Appendix in reply to Sanderson's "Post Haste."] Lond. 1659.

38. *Thirteen Sermons, some* [ten] *of which are an Exposition of the Parable of the Tares*, printed at London, 1659, and again 1661.

39. Certamen Epistolare, *or the Letter-combat managed with Mr Baxter, Dr Bernard, Mr Hickman,* [and J. H(arrington,) Esq., with an *Examination* of Fuller's *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, oct. Lond. 1659.]

40. Historia Quinqu-articularis, [with a *Postscript concerning some Particulars in a scurrilous Pamphlet entituled a Review of the* Certamen Epistolare] quarto, Lond. 1660 [reprinted in the *Tracts*][2].

[41. *Sermon preached in the Collegiate Church of St Peter in Westminster, on Wednesday, 29th May*, 1661, *on Psal. xxxi.* 21. Lond. 1661, quarto.]

42. Ecclesia Restaurata, *or the History of the Reformation*, folio, Lond. 1661 [1670, 1674; Camb. 1849, 8vo.]

43. Cyprianus Anglicus, *or the History of the Life and Death of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury*, folio, [1668, 1671, 1719.]

44. Aërius Redivivus, *or the History of the Presbyterians*, folio, [1670, 1672.]

[1] "From his Birth to his Burial."—Wood. (The words "From his Cradle to his Grave" were part of the title of Sanderson's Hist. of Charles.) Wood says, "This Life I take to be the same with that—(for they have the same beginning)—that was printed with and set before *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, printed at the Hague, 1648-9."

[2] "In the same year (1660) was published a book entitled *Fratres in malo: or the Matchless Couple represented in the writings of Mr Edw. Bagshaw and Mr Hen. Hickman, in Vindication of Dr Heylyn and Mr Tho. Pierce*, 4to, said in the title to be written by M. O., Bach. of Arts, but all then supposed that Dr Heylyn or Mr Pierce, or both, had a hand in it."—Wood.

[45. ΚΕΙΜΗΛΙΑ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΑ. *Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts*, Lond. 1681, folio, containing 6, 12, 27, 34, (8, 15, 16, 24, 29) 40[1].]

[1] "Heylyn also composed *A Discourse of the African Schism:* and, in 1637, did, upon Dr Laud's desire, draw up *The Judgment of Writers on those texts of Scripture on which the Jesuits found the Popedom and the authority of the Roman Church.* Both which things the said Dr Laud intended as materials towards his large Answer to Fisher, the Jesuit, which came out the year following. He also (I mean Heylyn) did translate from Latin into English, Dr Prideaux his *Lecture upon the Sabbath* [see p. cvi.]; and put the Scotch Liturgy into Latin, 1639."—Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 567. "In MS. Rawl. Miscell. 353, are several papers relating to Dr Heylyn and his parsonage of Alresford, as well as his disputation with Dr Prideaux; his original appointment as Chaplain in Ordinary to the King; a letter from the Bishop of Winchester on a demand of ten trees, made by Heylyn as parson of Alresford; opinions of Littleton, Heath, and Mallet, on this and other subjects connected with the living, &c. &c."—Bliss, in Wood, iii. 568.

ECCLESIA RESTAURATA;

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION of the CHURCH

OF

ENGLAND:

CONTAINING

The *Beginning*, *Progress*, and *Successes* of it; the *Counsels*, by which it was conducted; the *Rules* of Piety, and Prudence, upon which it was Founded; the several Steps, by which it was promoted, or retarded, in the Change of Times:

FROM

The first Preparations to it by King HENRY *the Eight*, untill the *Legal* Settling, and Establishment of it under Queen *ELIZABETH:*

TOGETHER

With the Intermixture of such *Civil Actions*, and *Affairs* of *State*, as either were Co-incident with it, or related to it.

By *PETER HEYLYN.*

LONDON,

Printed for *H. Twyford*, *T. Dring*, *J. Place*, *W. Palmer*; to be sold in *Vine-Court*, *Middle-Temple*, the *George in Fleet-street*, *Furnival's* Inn-Gate in *Holborn*, and the *Palm-Tree* in *Fleet-street*.

MDCLXI.

TO THE MOST SACRED MAJESTY

OF

KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

Most gracious Sovereign,

IT was an usual saying of King James (your Majesty's most learned grandfather) of blessed memory, that, of all the Churches in the world, he knew not any which came nearer to the primitive pattern, for doctrine, government, and worship, than the reformed Church of England. A saying which he built not upon fancy and affection only, but on such just and solid reasons as might sufficiently endear it to all knowing men. The truth and certainty whereof will be made apparent by the following History, which here, in all humility, is offered to your Majesty's view. It is, (dread sir), an History of the Reformation of the Church of England, with all the various fortunes and successes of it, from the first agitations in religion under Henry the Eighth (which served for a preamble thereunto) until the legal settling and establishment of it by the great Queen Elizabeth, of happy memory. A piece not to be dedicated to any other, than your sacred Majesty; who, being raised by God, to be a nursing father to this part of his Church, may possibly discharge that duty with the greater tenderness, when you shall find upon what rules of piety and Christian prudence the work was carried on by the first reformers. Which being once found, it will be no hard matter to determine of such means and counsels whereby the Church may be restored to her peace and purity; from which she is most miserably fallen by our late distractions. It cannot be denied but that some tares grew up almost immediately with the wheat itself; and seemed so specious to the eye, in the blade

or stalk, that they were taken by some credulous and confiding men for the better grain. But still they were no more than tares, distinguished easily in the fruits (the fruits of error and false doctrine, of faction, schism, disorder, and perhaps sedition) from the Lord's good seed. And, being of an after[1] sowing (a supersemination, as the Vulgar reads it[2]) and sown on purpose by a cunning and industrious enemy, to raise an harvest to himself, they neither can pretend to the same antiquity, and much less to the purity, of that sacred seed with which the field was sown at first by the heavenly Husbandman. I leave the application of this parable to the following History, and shall conclude with this address to Almighty God—That, as he hath restored your Majesty to the throne of your father, and done it in so strange a manner as makes it seem a miracle in the eyes of Christendom, so he would settle you in the same on so sure a bottom, that no design of mischievous and unquiet men may diturb your peace, or detract any thing from those felicities which you have acquired. So prayeth,

Dread Sovereign,

Your Majesty's most obedient Servant,
and most loyal Subject,

PETER HEYLYN.

[1] "Abler," edd. 1, 2.

[2] "Venit inimicus ejus, et superseminavit zizania in medio tritici." Matth. xiii. 25.

TO THE READER.

READER,

1. I HERE present thee with a piece of as great variety as can be easily comprehended in so narrow a compass; the history of an affair of such weight and consequence as had a powerful influence on the rest of Christendom. It is an History of the Reformation of the Church of England, from the first agitations in religion under Henry the Eighth, until the final settling, and establishing of it, in doctrine, government, and worship, under the fortunate and most glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth. Nor hast thou here a bare relation only of such passages as those times afforded, but a discovery of those counsels by which the action was conducted; the rules of piety and prudence upon which it was carried; the several steps by which it was promoted or retarded in the change of times; together with the intercurrence of such civil concernments, both at home and abroad, as either were coincident with it or related to it. So that we may affirm of this present History, as Florus doth of his compendium of the Roman stories, *Ut non tam populi unius, quam totius generis humani*[1]; that is to say, that it contains not only the affairs of one state or nation, but, in a manner, of the greatest part of all civil governments. The work first hinted by a Prince of an undaunted spirit, the master of as great a courage as the world had any; and, to say truth, the work required it. He durst not else have grappled with that mighty adversary, who, claiming to be successor to St Peter in the see of Rome, and Vicar-general to Christ over all the Church, had gained unto himself an absolute sovereignty over all Christian kings and princes in the Western Empire. But this King, being violently hurried with the transport of some private affections, and finding that the

[1] "Ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, sed generis humani facta discant." Florus, Prolog.

Pope appeared the greatest obstacle to his desires, he first divested him by degrees of that supremacy which had been challenged and enjoyed by his predecessors for some ages past; and finally, extinguished his authority in the realm of England, without noise or trouble, to the great admiration and astonishment of the rest of the Christian world. This opened the first way to the Reformation, and gave encouragement to those who inclined unto it: to which the King afforded no small countenance, out of politic ends, by suffering them to have the Bible in the English tongue, and to enjoy the benefit of such godly tractates as openly discovered the corruptions of the Church of Rome. But, for his own part, he adhered to his old religion, severely persecuted those who dissented from it, and died, (though excommunicated) in that faith and doctrine which he had sucked in, as it were, with his mother's milk, and of the which he shewed himself so stout a champion against Martin Luther, in his first quarrels with the Pope.

2. Next comes a minor on the stage, just, mild, and gracious; whose name was made a property to serve turns withal, and his authority abused, (as commonly it happened on the like occasions), to his own undoing. In his first year, the Reformation was resolved on, but on different ends;—endeavoured by some godly bishops, and other learned and religious men, of the lower clergy, out of judgment and conscience; who managed the affair according to the Word of God, the practice of the primitive times, the general current and consent of the old catholic doctors, but not without an eye to such foreign Churches as seemed to have most consonancy to the ancient forms:—promoted with like zeal and industry, but not with like integrity and Christian candour, by some great men about the court; who, under colour of removing such corruptions as remained in the Church, had cast their eyes upon the spoil of shrines, and images, (though still preserved in the greatest part of the Lutheran churches)[1], and the improving of their own fortunes by the chantry-lands[2]: all which most sacrile-

[1] See below, Edw. ii. 3.

[2] Edw. i. 38; ii. 8, seqq.

giously they divided amongst themselves, without admitting the poor King to his share therein; though nothing but the filling of his coffers, by the spoil of the one, and the increase of his revenue, by the fall of the other, was openly pretended in the conduct of it. But, separating this obliquity from the main intendment, the work was vigorously carried on by the King and his counsellors; as appears clear by the Doctrinals in the Book of Homilies, and by the practical part of Christian piety, in the first public Liturgy, confirmed by act of parliament in the second and third year of this King; and in that act, (and, which is more, by Fox himself), affirmed to have been done "by the especial aid of the Holy Ghost[1]." And here the business might have rested, if Calvin's pragmatical spirit had not interposed. He first began to quarrel at some passages in this sacred Liturgy[2], and afterwards never left soliciting the Lord Protector, and practising by his agents on the court, the country, and the universities, till he had laid the first foundation of the Zuinglian faction, who laboured nothing more than innovation, both in doctrine and discipline. To which they were encouraged by nothing more than some improvident indulgence granted unto John à Lasco; who, bringing with him a mixed multitude of Poles and Germans, obtained the privilege of a Church for himself and his, distinct in government and forms of worship from the Church of England[3].

3. This gave a powerful animation to the Zuinglian gospellers (as they are called by Bishop Hooper, and some other writers), to practise first upon the Church[4]; who, being countenanced, if not headed, by the Earl of Warwick, (who then began to undermine the Lord Protector), first quarrelled the episcopal habit, and afterwards inveighed against caps and surplices, against gowns and tippets; but fell at last upon the altars[5], which were left standing in all churches by the rules of the Liturgy. The touching on this string made excellent music to

[1] Act 2 & 3 Edw. vi. 1; Fox, Acts and Monuments, ii. 660, ed. 1631.

[2] Edw. iii. 24.

[3] Edw. iv. 11, 16.

[4] Edw. iii. 9.

[5] Edw. iv. 12-16, 22.

most of the grandees of the court, who had before cast many an envious eye on those costly hangings, that massy plate, and other rich and precious utensils, which adorned those altars. And "What need all this waste?" said Judas[1]; when one poor chalice only, and perhaps not that, might have served the turn. Besides, there was no small spoil to be made of copes, in which the priest officiated at the holy Sacrament; some of them being made of cloth of tissue, of cloth of gold and silver, or embroidered velvet; the meanest being made of silk or satin, with some decent trimming. And might not these be handsomely converted into private uses, to serve as carpets for their tables, coverlids to their beds, or cushions to their chairs or windows? Hereupon some rude people are encouraged underhand to beat down some altars, which makes way for an order of the council-table, to take down the rest, and set up tables in their places[2]; followed by a commission, to be executed in all parts of the kingdom, for seizing on the premises to the use of the King[3]. But, as the grandees of the court intended to defraud the King of so great a booty, and the commissioners to put a cheat upon the court lords, who employed them in it; so they were both prevented in some places by the lords and gentry of the country, who thought the altar-cloths, together with the copes and plate of their several churches, to be as necessary for themselves as for any others. This change drew on the alteration of the former Liturgy[4], reviewed by certain godly prelates, reduced almost into the same form in which now[5] it stands, and confirmed by parliament in the 5th and 6th years of this King; but almost as unpleasing to the Zuinglian faction as the former was. In which conjuncture of affairs died King Edward the Sixth. From the beginning of whose reign the Church accounts the epoch of a Reformation. All that was done in order to it

[1] Matth. xxvi. 8; Joh. xii. 4.

[2] Edw. iv. 24.

[3] Edw. vii. 3-5.

[4] Ed. vi. 4. It is to be observed, however, that the alteration of the Prayerbook did not follow, but preceded, the order for appropriating church-plate, &c. to the use of the King.

[5] i. e. 1660.

under Henry the Eighth, seemed to be accidental only, and by the by, rather designed on private ends, than out of any settled purpose to reform the Church; and therefore intermitted, and resumed again, as those ends had variance[1]. But now the work was carried on with a constant hand, the prelates of the Church co-operating with the King and his council, and each contriving[2] with the other for the honour of it. Scarce had they brought it to this pass, when King Edward died; whose death I cannot reckon for an infelicity to the Church of England: for, being ill-principled[3] in himself, and easily inclined to embrace such counsels as were offered to him, it is not to be thought, but that the rest of the bishopricks, (before sufficiently impoverished), must have followed Durham[4], and the poor Church be left as destitute of lands and ornaments as when she came into the world in her natural nakedness. Nor was it like to happen otherwise in the following reign, if it had lasted longer than a nine days' wonder[5]. For Dudley of Northumberland, who then ruled the roast, and had before dissolved, and in hope devoured, the wealthy bishoprick of Durham, might easily have possessed himself of the greatest part of the revenues of York and Carlisle. By means whereof, he would have made himself more absolute on the north side of the Trent, than the poor titular Queen, (a most virtuous lady), could have been suffered to continue on the south side of it. To carry on whose interests, and maintain her title, the poor remainder of the Church's patrimony was, in all probability, to have been shared amongst those of that party, to make them sure unto the side. But the wisdom of this great Achitophel being turned to foolishness, he fell into the hands

[1] However true this view may be, it is to be regretted that Heylyn has treated the history of Henry's time by far too slightly. This is one of the chief defects of the work: and it is aggravated by the unfortunate arrangement which has distributed the notices of this reign between the introductions to those of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, instead of presenting them in one continuous narrative.

[2] Qu. "contending?"

[3] See Edw. vii. 3.

[4] Edw. vii. 7.

[5] Jane, 38.

of the public hangman, and thereby saved himself the labour of becoming his own executioner.

4. Now Mary comes to act her part, and she drives on furiously. Her personal interest had strongly biassed her to the Church of Rome, on which depended the validity of her mother's marriage, and consequently her own legitimation, and succession to the crown of this realm[1]. And it was no hard matter for her, in a time unsettled, to repeal all the acts of her brother's reign, and after to restore the Pope unto that supremacy of which her father had deprived him. A reign calamitous and unfortunate, to herself and her subjects: unfortunate to herself, in the loss of Calais; calamitous to her subjects, by many insurrections and executions; but more by the effusion of the blood of so many martyrs. For, though she gave a check to the rapacity of the former times, yet the professors of the Reformation paid dearly for it, whose blood she caused to be poured forth like water, in most parts of the kingdom, but nowhere more abundantly than in Bonner's slaughter-house; which being within the view of the court, and under her own nose, (as the saying is), must needs entitle her to a great part of those horrid cruelties, which almost every day were acted by that bloody butcher[2]. The schism at Frankfort[3] took beginning in the same time also,—occasioned by some zealots of the Zuinglian faction, who needs must lay aside the use of the public Liturgy, (retained by all the rest of the English exiles), the better to make way for such forms of worship as seemed more consonant to Calvin's platform, and the rules of Geneva. Which woeful schism, so wretchedly begun in a foreign nation, they laboured to promote by all sinister practices in the Church of England, when they returned from exile in the following reign[4]. The miserable effects whereof we feel too sensibly and smartly, to this very day.

5. But the great business of this reign related to the restitution of the abbey-lands, endeavoured earnestly by the

[1] Edw. v. 6; Mary, i. 19.
[2] Mary, ii. 16, 17; iii. 12.
[3] Mary, iii. 19, seqq.
[4] Eliz. ii. 20, &c.

Queen[1], and no less strenuously opposed by the then present owners, who had all the reason in the world to maintain that right, which, by the known laws of the land, had been vested in them. For when the monasteries and religious houses had been dissolved by several acts of parliament, in the time of King Henry, the lands belonging to those houses were, by those acts, conferred upon the King, and his successors, Kings and Queens of England. Most of which lands were either exchanged for others with the lords and gentry, or sold, for valuable consideration, to the rest of the subjects. All which exchanges, grants, and sales, were passed and confirmed by the King's letters patents, under the great seal of England, in due form of law; which gave unto the patentees as good a title as the law could make them. This was well known unto the Pope, and he knew well upon what ticklish terms he stood with the lords and commons, then assembled in parliament[2]; whom if he did not gratify with some signal favour, he could not hope to be restored by them to his former power: for, being deprived of his supremacy by act of parliament in the time of King Henry, he could not be restored unto it, but by act of parliament, in the time of Queen Mary; and no such act could be obtained or compassed for him, without a confirmation of church-lands to the present owners[3]. To which necessity Pope Julius being forced to submit himself, he issueth a decree, accompanied with some reasons, which might seem to induce him to it, for confirming all such lands on the present occupants, of which they stood possessed *justo titulo*, "by a lawful title." And this was only reckoned by him for a lawful title:—first, that they were possessed of the said lands *juxta leges hujus regni pro tempore existentes*, "according to the laws of the land which were then in force," whether by purchase, or gift, or in the way of exchange; which are the words of the decree: and secondly, if the said lands were warranted and confirmed unto them

[1] Mary, iv. 1.
[2] Mary, ii. 5.
[3] See Mary, ii. 10.

by letters patents from the two last Kings, *qui per literas patentes easdem terras warrantizarunt*, as is declared in the second of the following reasons. For which consult the book entitled, "No Sacrilege nor Sin to purchase Cathedral-lands," &c. p. 52[1]. Where still observe, that nothing made a lawful title in the Pope's opinion, but the King's letters patents, grounded on the laws of the land, as is expressed more clearly in the former passages. But this can no way serve the turn of some present purchasers, though much insisted on by one of that number, to justify his defacing of an episcopal palace, and his pretensions to the wealthy borough which depended on it; for certainly there must needs be a vast disproportion between such contracts as were founded upon acts of parliament, legally passed by the King's authority, with the consent and approbation of the three estates, and those which have no other ground but the bare votes and orders of both houses only, and perhaps not that. And by this logic, he may as well justify the late horrid murder committed on the most incomparable majesty of King Charles the First, as stand upon the making good of such grants and sales as were contracted for with some of those very men who voted to the setting up of the high court of justice, as, most ridiculously, they were pleased to call it. When I shall see him do the one, I must bethink myself of some further arguments to refute the other.

6. And so Queen Mary makes her exit, and leaves the stage to Queen Elizabeth, her younger sister—a princess which had long been trained up in the school of experience, and knew the temper of the people whom she was to govern; who, having generally embraced the reformed religion, in the

[1] Third edition, London, 1660. The author was Dr Cornelius Burges, the well-known presbyterian; who is the person alluded to in the latter part of this paragraph. He had bought the palace and the deanery-house of Wells, and, in consequence, set up some pretensions which led to disagreements with the corporation of that city. See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii. 683-5. The judgment of Julius III. on Church-lands was taken by Burges from a work of Hakewill, who professed to copy it from the State Paper office.

time of her brother, most passionately desired the enjoyment of it under her protection: and she accordingly resolved to satisfy the piety of their desire, as soon as she had power and opportunity to go through with it. In prosecution of which work, she raised her whole fabric on the same foundation which had been laid by the reformers in the reign of King Edward; that is to say, the Word of God, the practice of the primitive times, the general current of the fathers, and the example of such Churches as seemed to retain most in them of the ancient forms. But then she added thereunto such an equal mixture both of strength and beauty, as gave great lustre to the Church, and drew along with it many rare felicities on the civil state, both extraordinary in themselves, and of long continuance, as the most excellent King James[1] hath right well observed: so that we may affirm of the Reformation of the Church of England, as the historian[2] doth of the power and greatness of the realm of Macedon; that is to say, that the same arts, by which the first foundations of it were laid by Philip, were practised in the consummation and accomplishment of it, by the care of Alexander. For in the first year of her reign, the Liturgy, being first reviewed, and qualified in some particulars, was confirmed by parliament[3]; in her fifth[4] year, the articles of religion were agreed upon by the convocation[5]; and in the eighth, the government of the Church, by Archbishops and Bishops, received as strong a confirmation as the laws could give it. And for this last, we are beholden unto Bonner, the late Bishop of London, who, being called upon to take

[1] In his proclamation of March 5th, 1603. *Author.* ["We had seen the kingdom, under that form of religion which by law was established in the days of the late Queen, of famous memory, blessed with a peace and prosperity, both extraordinary and of many years' continuance (a strong evidence that God was therewith well pleased.)"—Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 377.]

[2] "Quibus artibus Imperii fundamenta locavit Pater, iisdem operis totius gloriam consummavit Filius."—Just. Lib. x. *Author.* [The proper reference is L. ix. c. 8: "Quibus artibus *orbis* imperii fundamenta pater jecit, operis totius gloriam filius consummavit."]

[3] Eliz. i. 10. [4] "first," edd. 1, 2. [5] Eliz. v. 4.

the oath of supremacy, by Horn, of Winton, refused to take the oath, upon this account, because Horn's consecration was not good and valid by the laws of the land: which he insisted on, because the Ordinal established in the reign of King Edward, (by which both Horn and all the rest of Queen Elizabeth's Bishops received consecration), had been discharged by Queen Mary, and not restored by any act of parliament in the present reign. Which being first declared by parliament, in the eighth of this Queen, to be *casus omissus*,—or rather, that the Ordinal was looked upon as a part of the Liturgy, which had been solemnly confirmed in the first of this Queen's reign,—they next enacted and ordained, "that all such Bishops as were consecrated by that Ordinal in the times precedent, or should be consecrated by it in the time to come, should be reputed to be lawfully ordained and consecrated, to all intents and purposes in the law whatever[1]." Which added as much strength to the episcopal government, as the authority of man, and an act of parliament, could possibly confer upon it. This made the Queen more constant to her former principles, of keeping up the Church in its power and purity, without subjecting it to any but herself alone. She looked upon herself as the sole fountain of both jurisdictions, which she resolved to keep in their proper channels; neither permitting them to mingle waters upon any occasion, nor suffering either of them to invade and destroy the other. And to this rule she was so constant, that when one Morrice[2], being then attorney of the duchy of Lancaster, had offered a bill, ready drawn, to the house of commons, in the thirty-fifth of her reign, for the retrenching of the ecclesiastical courts in much narrower bounds,—she first commanded Coke, then speaker, (and afterwards successively chief justice of either bench), not to admit of any such seditious bills for the time to come. And, that being done, she caused the person of the said attorney to be seized upon, deprived him of his place

[1] Eliz. viii. 2. See Gibson, Codex, p. 139.

[2] This is more fully related by Heylyn, Aërius Rediv. p. 320. Comp. D'Ewes' Parliaments of Eliz. 174; Hume, V. 321, ed. Oxford, 1826.

in the duchy-court, disabled him from practising as a common-lawyer, and, finally, shut him up in Tutbury castle, where he continued till his death. By which severity, and keeping the like constant hand in the course of her government, she held so great a curb on the puritan faction, that neither her parliaments nor her courts of justice were from thenceforth much troubled with them, in the rest of her reign.

7. This is the sum and method of the following History; in the particulars whereof thou wilt find more to satisfy thy curiosity and inform thy judgment than can be possibly drawn up in this general view. As for myself, and my performance in this work,—in the first place, I am to tell thee, that, towards the raising of this fabric, I have not borrowed my materials only out of vulgar authors, but searched into the registers of the convocation; consulted all such acts of parliament as concerned my purpose; advised with many foreign writers of great name and credit; exemplified some records and charters of no common quality, many rare pieces in the famous Cottonian library[1], and not a few debates and orders of the council-table; which I have laid together in as good a form, and beautified it with a trimming as agreeable, as my hands could give it. And, next, I am to let thee know, that, in the whole carriage of this work, I have assumed unto myself the freedom of a just historian: concealing nothing out of fear, nor speaking any thing for favour; delivering nothing for a truth without good authority; but so delivering that truth, as to witness for me, that I am neither biassed by love or hatred[2], nor over-swayed by partiality and corrupt affections. If I seem tart at any time, as sometimes

[1] "The most of his materials (I guess) were had from the transcript which Archbishop Laud caused to be made of all that related to the story of the Reformation out of those eight large volumes of collections that are still in the Cottonian library."—Nicolson's English Hist. Library, 118-119, Lond. 1736.

[2] "Nec odio, nec amore, dicturus aliquid," &c.—Tacit. Hist. Lib. i. *Author.* ["Incorruptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est."—Hist. i. 1. Cf. Annal. i. 1. "Sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo."]

I may, it is but in such cases only, and on such occasions, in which there is no good to be done by lenitives, and where the tumour is so putrefied as to need a lancing. For in this case a true historian must have somewhat in him of the good Samaritan, in using wine or vinegar, to cleanse the wound, as well as oil, to qualify the grief of the inflammation. I know it is impossible (even in a work of this nature) to please all parties, though I have made it my endeavour to dissatisfy none, but those that "hate to be reformed[1]," (in the Psalmist's language), or otherwise are so tenaciously wedded to their own opinions, that neither reason nor authority can divorce them from it. And thus, (good reader), I commend thee to the blessings of God, whom I beseech to guide thee in the way to eternal life, amongst those intricate windings and uncertain turnings, those crooked lanes and dangerous precipices, which are round about thee. And so fare thee well.

From Westminster,
October the 20*th*, 1660.

[1] Ps. l. v. 17, Prayerbook version.

PARENTAGE, BIRTH, AND FIRST FORTUNES OF PRINCE EDWARD,

THE ONLY SURVIVING SON OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,

BEFORE HIS COMING TO THE CROWN:

WITH THE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS, BOTH IN CHURCH AND STATE, AT HIS FIRST COMING TO THE SAME.

---

1. PRINCE Edward, the only surviving son of King Henry the Eighth, was born at the royal palace of Hampton Court, on the twelfth day of October, anno 1537. Descended, by his father, from[1] the united families of York and Lancaster; by his grandfather, King Henry the Seventh, from the old royal line of the kings of Wales; by his grandmother, Queen Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of King Edward the Fourth, from a long continued race of kings, descending from the loins of the Norman Conqueror; and finally, by Maud, the wife of King Henry the First, from Edmond, surnamed Ironside, the last unquestionable king, (as to the right of his succession), of the Saxon race. So that all titles seemed to be concentred in the person of this infant prince, which might assure the subjects of a peaceable and untroubled reign; so much the more, because his mother's marriage was not subject unto any dispute, (as were those of the two former Queens), whereby the legitimation 2 of her issue might be called in question:—an happiness which recompensed all defects that might be otherwise pretended against her birth, not answerable unto that of so great a monarch, and short in some respects of that of her predecessor in the King's affections; though of a family truly noble, and of great antiquity. Concerning which it will be necessary to premise somewhat in this place, not only for the setting forth of this Queen's progenitors, but that we may the better understand the state of that family which was to act so great a part on the stage of England.

Birth of Edward.

[1] Edd. "from his father, by."

Introduct.

Descent of Queen Jane Seimour.

2. Know then, that Queen Jane Seimour was daughter of Sir John Seimour, of Wolf Hall, in the county of Wilts. Descended from that William de S. Mauro (contractedly[1] afterwards called Seimour), who by the aid of Gilbert Lord Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, recovered Wendy[2] and Penhow, (now parts of Monmouthshire), from the hands of the Welsh, anno 1240, being the two and twentieth year of King Henry the Third's reign; which William, as he descended lineally from the d' Sancto Mauro, whose name we find in the Roll of Battle Abbey amongst those noble families which came in with the Conqueror, so was he one of the progenitors of that Sir Roger S. Maur, or Seimour, Knight, who married one of the daughters and heirs of John Beauchamp, of Hach, a right noble Baron, who brought his pedigree from Sybil, one of the five daughters and heirs of William Marshal, the famous and most puissant Earl of Pembroke, married to William de Ferrars[3], Earl of Ferrars and Derby, as also from Hugh d'Vivon and William Mallet, men in times past most renowned for estate and chivalry. Which goodly patrimony was afterwards very much augmented, by the marriage of one of this noble family with the daughter and heir of the Esturmies, Lords of Wolf Hall, not far from Marleborough, in the county of Wilts, whe bare for arms, Argent, 3 Demy Lions, Gules, and from the time of King Henry the Second were by right of inheritance the bailiffs and guardians of the forest of Savernak[4], lying hard by; which is of great note for plenty of good game, and for a kind of fern there, that yieldeth a most pleasant savour. In remembrance whereof, their hunter's horn, of a mighty bigness, and tipt with silver, is kept by the Earls of Hartford unto this day, as a monument of their descent from such noble ancestors[5]. Out of which house came Sir John Seimour, of Wolf Hall, the

[1] Edd. 2, 3, "contracted."

[2] The name is printed Woundy and Wondy in Camden, from whom this statement is taken.

[3] "From Sibyl, heir unto William Mareshall, that most puissant Earl of Pembroke, from William Ferrars, Earl of Derby," &c.—Camden, Britannia, 634. The editions of Heylyn read *Herrars*, through the same mistake of which there is another instance in §. 4, below.

[4] Edd. "Sarernark."

[5] Camden, Brit. 254. The *Earls* of Hertford had been raised in the peerage at the time when Heylyn wrote. See below, §. 6.

father of this excellent Queen, as also of the three sons, Edward, Henry, and Thomas, of which we shall speak somewhat severally in the way of preamble, the first and last being principal actors on the public theatre of King Edward's reign. Introduct.

Account of Sir Edward Seimour, (afterwards Protector.)

3. And first, Sir Edward Seimour, the eldest son, received the order of knighthood at the hands of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and brother-in-law to King Henry the Eighth; in the fifteenth year of whose reign he[1] commanded a right puissant army in a war with France, where he took the town of Mont Dedier, and other pieces of importance. On this foundation he began the rise of his following fortunes, exceedingly improved by the marriage of the King with his only sister; from whom, on Tuesday in Whitsun-week, anno 1536, he received the title of Viscount Beauchamp, with reference to his descent from the Lord John Beauchamp above mentioned, and on the 18th of October, in the year next following, he was created Earl of Hartford. A man observed by Sir John Hayward[2], in his History of King Edward the Sixth, to be "of little esteem for wisdom, personage, or courage in arms[3];" but found withal not only to be very faithful but exceeding fortunate, as long as he served under the more powerful planet of King Henry the Eighth. About five years before the end of whose reign (he being then Warden of the Marches against Scotland), the invasion of King James the Fifth was by his direction encountered and broken at Solome Moss[4], where divers of the Scottish nobility were taken prisoners. In the next year after, accompanied with Sir John Dudley, Viscount Lisle[5] (created afterwards Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland by King Edward the Sixth), with a handful of men he fired Lieth and
3 Edinborough, and returned by a leisurely march forty-four miles

[1] i. e. The Duke of Suffolk; but Seimour is the subject of the next sentence. He was knighted on the taking of Montdidier. Holinshed, iii. 690.

[2] Here and in some other places the editions call this writer Hay*wood*. His History of Edward VI. is printed, with notes by Strype, in Kennett's collection, Vol. II.; to which the references in the present edition of Heylyn apply.

[3] Kennett, ii. 279.

[4] Solway Moss, Nov. 25, 1542. See below, §. 23.

[5] Then Lord High Admiral. This expedition was in May, 1544. Hall, 860; Stow, 586; Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, v. 300—303.

Introduct. through the body of Scotland. And in the year following he invaded the Scottish borders, wasted Tivedale and the marches[1], defacing all those parts with spoil and ruin. As fortunate in his undertakings against the French as against the Scots; for, being appointed by the King to view the fortifications upon the marches of Callice, he did not only perform that service to the King's contentment, but with the hardy approach of 7,000 Englishmen, raised an army of 21,000 French, encamped over the river before Bulloign, won their ordnance, carriage, treasure, and tents, with the loss only of one man; winning in his return from thence the castle of Ouling[2], commonly called the Red Pile, within shot and rescue of the town of Ardes. And finally, in the year ensuing, (being the last of that King's reign), he began the fortresses of New-haven, Blackness, and Bullingberg; in which he plied his work so well, that before his departure from those places he had made them tenable. Such were his actings in the time of King Henry the Eighth, against whose powerful genius there was no withstanding. In all whose time he never rose to any haughtiness in himself or contempt of others, but still remained courteous and affable towards all; choosing a course, (least subject to envy), between stiff stubbornness and servile flattery, without aspiring any further than to hold a second place in the King's good grace[3]. But being left unto himself, and either overwhelmed by the greatness of that authority which was cast upon him in the minority of King Edward, or undermined by the practices of his cunning and malicious enemies, he suddenly became, (according to the usual disports of fortune), a calamitous ruin; as being in himself of an easy nature, apt to be wrought upon by more subtle heads, and wholly governed by his last wife; of which more hereafter.

His descendants. 4. In the mean time we are to know, that, having

[1] i. e. Teviotdale and the Merse. "During this inroad, which only lasted fifteen days (Sept. 1545), the destruction was dreadful. The English burnt seven monasteries and religious houses, sixteen castles and towns, five market-towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals."—Tytler, v. 331—2.

[2] "Outing," Hayward, ed. Kennett.

[3] This account is taken almost verbatim from Hayward (279), who, however, concludes, "to be the second person *in state.*"

married one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Filol[1], of Woodlands, in the county of Dorset, he had by her, amongst other children, a son called Edward, from whom descends Sir Edward Seimour of Berry Pomery, in the county of Devon, Knight, and Baronet[2]. After whose death he married Ann, the daughter of Sir Edward Stanhop, by whom he had a son, called Edward also, on whom he was prevailed with to entail both his lands and honours; the children of the former bed being pretermitted[3]. Concerning which there goes a story, that the Earl, having been formerly employed in France, did there acquaint himself with a learned man, supposed to have great skill in magic: of whom he obtained, by great rewards and importunities, to let him see, by the help of some magical perspective, in what estate all his relations stood at home. In which impertinent curiosity he was so far satisfied, as to behold a gentleman of his acquaintance in a more familiar posture with his wife than was agreeable to the honour of either party. To which diabolical illusion he is said to have given so much credit, that he did not only estrange himself from her society at his coming home, but furnished his next wife with an excellent opportunity for pressing him to the disinheriting of his former children. But whether this were so or not, certain it is that his last wife, being a proud imperious woman, and one that was resolved to gain her own ends upon him, never left plying him with one suspicion after another, till in the end she had prevailed to have the greatest part of his lands, and all his honourable titles, settled on her

Introduct.

[1] "Sir William Fillol, of Fillol Hall, in Essex, and Woodlands, in the county of Dorset."—Collins, Peerage, i. 171. Former editions of Heylyn read "Hilol."

[2] Edd. 1, 2, "Baron."

[3] Some of his honours were limited to the issue of his second marriage; but the barony of Seimour and the dukedom of Somerset were conferred with remainder to the issue of his first marriage, if that of the second should fail. When the dukedom was revived, in 1660, "as fully as if the act of attainder of the 5th of Edw. VI. had never passed," this remainder was included; and the provision took effect in 1750, when, on the death of Algernon, eighth duke, without male issue, the line of the second marriage became extinct, and the dukedom and barony passed to Sir Edward Seimour, Bart., great grandson of the Sir Edward who is mentioned in the text.—Collins, i. 191.

Introduct. eldest son. And, that she might make sure work of it, she caused him to obtain a private act of parliament, in the thirty-second year of Henry the Eighth, anno 1540, for entailing the same on this last Edward, and the heirs-male of his body. So easy was he to be wrought on, by those that knew on which side he did lie most open to assaults and batteries.

Sir Thomas Seimour, (afterwards High Admiral.)

5. Of a far different temper was his brother Thomas, the youngest son of Sir John Seimour; of a daring and enterprising nature, arrogant in himself, a despiser of others, and a contemner of all counsels which were not first forged in his own brain. Following his sister to the court, he received the 4
order of knighthood from the hands of the King, at such time as his brother was made Earl of Hartford; and on May-day in the thirtieth year of the King's reign, he was one of the challengers at the magnificent justs maintained by him and others against all comers in the palace of Westminster; in which, together with the rest, he behaved himself so highly to the King's contentment and their own great honour, that they were all severally rewarded with the grant of 100 marks of yearly rent, and a convenient house for habitation thereunto belonging, out of the late dissolved order of St John of Jerusalem[1]. Which, being the first foundation of his following greatness, proved not sufficient to support the building which was raised upon it; the gentleman, and almost all the rest of the challengers, coming within few years after to unfortunate ends. For being made Lord Seimour of Sudley, and Lord High Admiral of England, by King Edward the Sixth, he would not satisfy his ambition with a lower marriage than the widow of his deceased Sovereign,—aspiring after her death to the bed of the Princess Elizabeth, the second daughter of the King. Which wrought such jealousies and distrusts in the head of his brother, then being Lord Protector of the King and kingdom, that he was thereupon arraigned, condemned, and executed, (of which more anon), to the great joy of such as practised to subvert them both[2]. As for the Barony of Sudley, denominated from a goodly manor, in the county of Gloucester, it was anciently the patrimony of Harold, the eldest son of Ralph d'Mont, the son of Walter Medantinus or d'Mont, and

[1] Stow, 579—580.

[2] See below, Edw. iii. 1—7.

of Goda his wife, one of the daughters of Ethelred, and sister of Edmond, surnamed Ironside, kings of England[1]: whose posterity, taking to themselves the name of Sudley, continued in possession of it till the time of John, the last baron of this name and family, whose daughter Joane conveyed the whole estate in marriage to Sir William Botteler, of the family of Wemm, in Shropshire. From whom descended Ralph, Lord Botteler, of Sudley Castle, Chamberlain of the Household to King Henry the Sixth, by whom he was created Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Treasurer of England. And though the greatest part of this inheritance, being divided between the sisters and co-heirs, came to other families, yet the castle and barony of Sudley remained unto a male of this house until the latter end of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, to whom it was escheated by the attainder of the last Lord Botteler[2], whose greatest crime was thought to be this goodly manor, which some greedy courtiers had an eye on. And being fallen unto the crown, it was no hard matter for the Lord Protector to estate the same upon his brother; who was scarce warmed in his new honour, when it fell in to the crown again. Where it continued all the rest of King Edward's reign, and by Queen Mary was conferred on Sir John Bruges, (who derived his pedigree from one of the said sisters and co-heirs of Ralph, Lord Botteler) whom she ennobled, by the title of Lord Chaundos of Sudley[3]. Introduct.

6. As for Sir Henry Seimour, the second son of Sir John Seimour, he was not found to be of so fine a metal as to make a courtier, and was therefore left unto the life of a country gentleman: advanced by the power and favour of his elder Sir Henry Seimour.

1 Camden, Brit. 365.

2 There was no Lord Boteler of Sudeley after Ralph. Dugdale states, on the authority of Leland, "that King Edward IV. bearing no good will to this Ralph, by reason he had been so firm an adherent to King Henry VI., caused him to be attached, and brought up to London; and that when he was on the way, looking back from an hill to this castle, he said, 'Sudeley-Castle, thou art the traitor, not I!'" that afterwards he *sold* the castle to King Edward the Fourth; and that, on his death, his other property went to the sons of his two sisters, and the title became extinct.—Baronage, i. 597. Sudeley was granted by Henry VII. to his uncle, Jasper, Duke of Bedford, on whose death without issue it reverted to the crown. Ibid. ii. 242. Atkins' Gloucestershire, 702.

3 Stow, 623; Collins, vi. 720.

Introduct. brother to the order of knighthood; and afterwards estated in the manors of Marvell and Twyford, in the county of Southampton[1], dismembered in those broken times from the see of Winchester. To each of these belonged a park,—that of the first containing no less than four miles, that of the last but two in compass; the first being also honoured with a goodly mansion-house, belonging anciently to those bishops, and little inferior to the best of the wealthy bishopricks. There goes a story, that the priest officiating at the altar, in the church of Ouslebury, (of which parish Marvell was a part), after the mass had been abolished by the King's authority, was violently dragged thence by this Sir Henry, beaten, and most reproachfully handled by him, his servants universally refusing to serve him as the instruments of his rage and fury; and that the poor priest, having after an opportunity to get into the church, did openly curse the said Sir Henry and his posterity with bell, book, and candle, according to the use observed in the Church of Rome. Which, whether it were so or not, or that the main foundation of this estate, being laid on sacrilege, could promise no long blessing to it—certain it is, that his posterity are brought beneath the degree of poverty. For, having three nephews, by Sir John Seimour, his only son—that is to say, Edward, the eldest, Henry and Thomas, younger sons, besides several daughters,—there remains not to any of them one foot of land, or so much as a penny of money to supply their necessities, but what they have from the munificence of the Marquis of Hartford[2], or the charity of other well-disposed people which have affection or relation for them.

Description of Queen Jane.

7. But the great ornament of this house was their sister Jane, the only daughter of her father, by whose care she was preferred to the court, and service of Queen Ann Bollen, where she outshined all the other ladies, and in short time had gained exceeding much on the King, a great admirer of fresh beauties, and such as could pretend unto no command on his own affections. Some ladies who had seen the pictures of both queens at White Hall gallery, have entertained no small dispute, to which of the two they were to give pre-eminence in point of beauty; each of them having such a plentiful measure

[1] Edw. v. 5.

[2] Created Duke of Somerset while the first edition was in the press. See note at the end of the History.

of perfections as to entitle either of them to a superiority. Introduct.
If Queen Ann seemed to have the more lively countenance, Queen Jane was thought to carry it in the exact symmetry which shewed itself in all her features; and what she carried on that side, by that advantage, was overbalanced on the other by a pleasing sprightfulness, which gained as much upon the hearts of all beholders. It was conceived by those great critics in the schools of beauty, that love, which seemed to threaten in the eyes of Queen Jane, did only seem to sport itself in the eyes of Queen Ann; that there was more majesty in the garb of Queen Jane Seimour, and more loveliness in that of Queen Ann Bollen; yet so that the majesty of the one did excel in loveliness, and that the loveliness of the other did exceed in majesty. Sir John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford, who had beheld both queens in their greatest glories, did use to say, that "the richer Queen Jane was in clothes, the fairer she appeared; but that the other, the richer she was apparelled, the worse she looked[1]:" which shews that Queen Ann only trusted to the beauties of nature, and that Queen Jane did sometimes help herself by external ornaments. In a word, she had in her all the graces of Queen Ann, but governed, (if my conjecture doth not fail me), with an evener and more constant temper; or, if you will, she may be said to be equally made up of the two last queens, as having in her all the attractions of Queen Ann, but regulated by the reservedness of Queen Katherine also.

8. It is not to be thought that so many rare perfections Her marriage.
should be long concealed from the eye of the King; or that love should not work in him its accustomed effects of desire and hope. In the prosecution whereof he lay so open to discovery, that the Queen could not choose but take notice of it, and intimated her suspicions to him, as appears by a letter of hers in the Scrinia Sacra[2]. In which she signifies unto him, that by hastening her intended death he would be "left at liberty, both before God and man, to follow his affection, already settled on the party for whose sake she was reduced unto that condition, and whose name she could some while since have pointed to, his grace not being ignorant of her sus-

[1] Lord Herb. Hist. fol. 387. *Author.* [Kennett, ii. 196.]
[2] P. 9. ed. Lond. 1654.

Introduct. picions[1]." And it appeared by the event that she was not much mistaken in the mark she aimed at; for scarce had her
1536. lamentable death, which happened on the 19th of May, prepared the way for the legitimating of this new affection, but on the morrow after the King was secretly married to Mistress Seimour, and openly shewed her as his Queen in the Whitsuntide following[2]. A marriage which made some alteration in the face of the court, in the advancing of her kindred, and discountenancing the dependants of the former Queen; but otherwise produced no change in the affairs of state. The King proceeded, as before, in suppressing monasteries, extin- 6
guishing the Pope's authority, and altering divers things in the face of the Church; which tended to that reformation which after followed. For on the eighth of June began the parliament, in which there[3] passed an act for the "final extinguishing of the power of the Popes of Rome[4]," cap. 10. And the next day a Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy, managed by Sir Thomas Cromwell[5], advanced about that time unto the title of Lord Cromwell of Wimbledon, and made his Majesty's Vicar General[6] of all ecclesiastical matters in the realm of England. By whose authority a book was published, after mature debate and deliberation, under the name of "Articles, devised by the King's Highness[7]," in which is mentioned but three Sacraments, that is to say, Baptism, Penance, and the Lord's Supper. Besides which book, there were some acts agreed upon in the Convocation, for diminishing the superfluous number of holy-days, especially of such as happened in

[1] The letter has been frequently printed, and will be found below. Eliz. Introd. 18.

[2] Holinshed, iii. 797.

[3] Edd. "here."

[4] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

[5] In this convocation, on June 10, "Mag. Will Petre allegavit, quod quia rex supremum est caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ideo supremus ei locus in synodo attribuendus esset, quem Thomas Crumwell, vicarius generalis ad causas ecclesiasticas ejus vices gerens, occupare deberet; ideo petiit prædictum locum sibi tanquam procuratori Domini Crumwell assignari. Quod et factum est."—Wilkins, Conc. iii. 803. Comp. Collier, ii. 119.

[6] July 9, 1536.—Herbert, 225.

[7] "Articles about religion, set out by the Convocation, and published by the King's authority."—Wilkins, iii. 317. On these Articles, see Jenkyns, Pref. to Cranmer, pp. xv—xvii.

the time of harvest[1]. Signified afterwards to the people in certain Injunctions, published in the King's name, by the new Vicar General, as the first-fruits of his authority. In which it was ordained, amongst other things, that the curates in every parish church should teach the people to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ave Mary, and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue[2]. Introduct.

Death of Henry's natural son.

9. But, that which seemed to make most for the advantage of the new Queen and her posterity, (if it please God to give her any), was the unexpected death of the Duke of Richmond, the King's natural son, begotten on the body of the Lady Talboi[3]: so dearly cherished by his father, (having then no lawful issue-male), that in the sixth year of his age, anno 1525, he created him Earl of Nottingham, and not long after Duke of Richmond and Somerset, preferred him to the honourable office of Earl Marshal, elected him into the order of the Garter, made him Lord Admiral of the royal navy, in an expedition against France, and finally affianced him to Mary, the daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, the most powerful subject in the kingdom[4]. Nor were these all the favours intended to him; the crown itself being designed him by the King, in default of lawful issue to be procreated and begotten of his royal body. For in the Act of the Succession, which passed in the parliament of this year, the crown being first settled upon the issue of this Queen, with the remainder to the King's issue lawfully begotten on any following wife whatsoever;—there past this clause in favour of the Duke of Richmond, (as it was then generally conceived), that is to say—"That, for lack of lawful heirs of the King's body to be procreated or begotten, as is afore limited by this act, it should and might be lawful for him to confer the same on any such person or persons, in possession and remainder, as should please his Highness, and according to such estate, and after

[1] Wilkins, iii. 823.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 814. Heylyn is mistaken in naming the *Ave* among things to be taught by virtue of these injunctions.

[3] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, and widow of Sir Gilbert Tailbois.—Sandford, Geneal. Hist. 496. She afterwards married Edward, Lord Clinton, (created by Queen Elizabeth, Earl of Lincoln). Collins, ii. 206.

[4] Hall, 703; Herbert, 68.

Introduct. such manner, form, fashion, order, and condition, as should be expressed, declared, named, and limited, in his said letters patents, or by his last will: the crown to be enjoyed by such person or persons, so to be nominated and appointed, in as large and ample manner as if such person or persons had been his Highness' lawful heirs to the imperial crown of this realm[1]."

10. And though it might please God, as it after did, to give the King some lawful issue by this Queen, yet took he so much care for this natural son as to enable himself by another clause in the said act, "to advance any person or persons of his most royal blood, by letters patents, under the great seal, to any title, style, or name, of any estate, dignity, or honour, whatsoever it be, and to give to them, or any of them, any castles, honours, manors, lands, tenements, liberties, franchises[2], or other hereditaments, in fee-simple, or fee-tail, or for term of their lives, or the life of any of them."

11. But all these expectations and provisions were to no effect, the Duke departing this life at the age of 17 years, or thereabouts, within few days after the ending of this session[3], that is to say, on the 22nd day of July, anno 1536[4], to the 7
extreme grief of the King, and the general sorrow of the court, who had him in a high degree of veneration for his birth and gallantry.

Prince Edward born. 12. It appears also by a passage in this act of parliament, above mentioned, that the King was not only hurried to this marriage by his own affections, but by the "humble petition, and intercession of most of the nobles of his realm;" moved thereunto, as well by the "conveniency of her years," as in respect that by her "excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood," (I speak the very words of the act itself) she was "apt (God willing) to conceive issue." And so accordingly it proved; for on the 12th of October, 1537, about two of the clock in the morning, she was delivered of a young Prince (christened not long after by the name of Edward). But it cost her dear, she dying within two days after[5], and leaving this

[1] An. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. *Author.*
[2] Edd. "franchiefs."
[3] Stow, 575.
[4] 1636, Edd. 1, 2; 1539, Ed. 3.
[5] This, as we shall see, is a mistake.

character behind her, of being "the discreetest, humblest, and fairest of all the King's wives[1]." It hath been commonly reported, and no less generally believed, that that child being come unto the birth, and there wanting natural strength to be delivered, his mother's body was ripped open to give him a passage into the world, and that she died of the incision in a short time after[2]. The thing not only so related in our common heralds, but taken up for a constant and undoubted truth by Sir John Hayward, in his History of the Life and Reign of King Edward the Sixth[3]; which notwithstanding, there are many reasons to evince the contrary. For, first, it is observed by the said Sir John Hayward, that children so brought forth "were by the ancient Romans esteemed fortunate, and commonly proved great enterprisers, with happy success." And so it is affirmed by Pliny, viz. *Auspicatius enecta matre nascuntur*[4], *&c.;* called first *Cæsones*, and afterwards more commonly *Cæsares*, as learned writers do aver, *quia cæso matris utero in lucem prodiissent*, "because their mothers' bodies had been opened to make passage for them." Amongst whom they reckon Cæso Fabius[5], who was three times consul; Scipio, surnamed Africanus, renowned for his victories in Spain, his vanquishing of Hannibal, and humbling the proud cities of Carthage; and, besides others, Julius Cæsar, who brought the whole Roman empire under his command: whereas the life of this Prince was short, his reign full of troubles, and his end generally supposed to be traitorously contrived, without performing any memorable action, either at home or abroad, which might make him pass in the account of a fortunate Prince, or any way successful in the enterprising of heroic actions[6]. Introduct.

[1] Herb. 196.

[2] Camd. Eliz. 365; Godwin, Annals, 91.

[3] p. 273.

[4] Plin. Lib. vii. cap. 9. *Author.* [For *nascuntur* read *gignuntur.*]

[5] See Liv. Hist. ii. 48. Former editions read "Cæso, and Fabius."

[6] The quotations and instances are from Hayward, 273—4. But the proof that Edward was not a *Cæso* does not rest on reasoning of this sort. Fuller denies the story of the excision, on the authority of "a great person of honour, deriving her intelligence mediately from them that were present at the labour." (iv. 111.) The fact, now ascertained, that the queen lived twelve days after her delivery, is against it; and her death is sufficiently accounted for in the letter given below, §. 14. In short, the common story may safely be regarded as a fiction,

Introduct.

13. Besides, it may appear by two several letters, the one written by the appointment of the Queen herself, immediately after her delivery, the other by one of her physicians, on the morrow after, that she was not under any such extreme necessity, (though questionless she had a hard labour of it), as report hath made her. For, first, the Queen, immediately upon the birth of the Prince, caused this ensuing letter, signed with her own signet, to be sent unto the Lords of the Privy Council, that is to say:

"Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as, by the inestimable goodness and grace of Almighty God, we be delivered and brought in child-bed of a Prince, conceived in most lawful matrimony between my Lord the King's majesty, and us;—doubting not, but that for the love and affection you bear unto us, and to the commonwealth of this realm, this knowledge shall be joyous, and glad tidings unto you, we have thought good to certify you of this same: to the intent ye might not only render unto God condign thanks and praise for so great a benefit, but also continually pray for the long continuance and preservation of the same here in this life, to the honour of God, joy and pleasure of my 8
Lord the King and us, and the universal weal, quiet, and tranquillity of this whole realm.

"Given under our signet, at my Lord's manor of Hampton Court, the twelfth day of October[1]."

Death of the Queen.

14. But, having a hard labour of it, as before was said, it brought her first into a very high distemper, and after into a very great looseness, which so accelerated the approach of death, that she prepared herself for God, according to the

invented for the purpose of exaggerating Henry's cruelty. It had not been fully developed in the time of Sanders, who, unscrupulous as he is, goes no further than stating that the king desired the surgeons to spare the child rather than the mother; and that "cum medicis chirurgicisque artibus ad partum laxaretur," she died. (p. 130.)

[1] [Fuller's] Church Hist. vii. fol. 422. *Author.* [iv. 111—112, ed. Brewer. Letters of this sort were prepared beforehand, when a queen's delivery was expected. In those which announced the birth of Elizabeth, the word *Prince* had been written, and appears with the alteration into *Princess*.—State Papers, Hen. VIII. i. 407.]

rites of the Church then being. And this appears by a letter of the Queen's physicians[1], directed in these words to the Lords of the Council, viz.: Introduct.

"THESE shall be to advise your Lordships of the Queen's estate: Yesterday afternoon she had a natural lax, by reason whereof she began to lighten, and (as it appeared) to amend, and so continued till towards night. All this night she hath been very sick, and doth rather appare than amend. Her confessor hath been with her Grace this morning, and hath done that to his office appertaineth, and is even now preparing to administer to her Grace the sacrament of unction."

Subscribed "at Hampton Court on Wednesday morning[2] at eight of the clock, by Thomas Rutland, Robert Karliolen., Edward Bayntun, John Chambre, Priest, William Butt, George Owen."

15. So died this noble, beautiful, and virtuous Queen, to the general lamentation of all good subjects, and on the twelfth of November following with great solemnity was conveyed to Windsor, and there magnificently interred in the midst of the quire. In memory of whom, I find this epitaph, not unworthy the greatest wits of the present times, to have then been made, viz.:

Phœnix Jana jacet nato Phœnice; dolendum est,
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tulisse duos[3].

That is to say,

Here Jane, a Phœnix, lies, whose death
Gave to another Phœnix breath.
Sad case the while, that no age ever
Could shew two Phœnixes together.

[1] It will be seen by the signatures, which are here given from the copy in the State Papers, i. 572, that the letter did not proceed from *physicians* only. The mistake arose from the strange disfigurement of the names in Fuller; which has been corrected in Mr Brewer's edition, iv. 113.

[2] Oct. 24, no doubt; which, as appears by a MS. in the Heralds' Office, was the day of the Queen's death—ten days later than the date usually given.—Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 5.

[3] "duas," edd. Heylyn. The verses are in Holinshed, iii. 805, where it is said that they were "thought to be made by Master Armigill Wade;" also in Camden's Remains, 331, ed. 1629; Godwin, Ann. 91; and in Speed, 829. Holinshed and Camden give the Latin only; Speed and Godwin have other translations.

Introduct.

Edward never Prince of Wales.

16. But to return unto the Prince,—It is affirmed with like confidence, and as little truth, that on the 18th[1] day of October, then next following, (that being but the sixth day after his birth), he was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, &c. In which, though I may easily excuse John Stow and Bishop Godwin[2], who report the same; yet I shall never pardon the late Lord Herbert for his incuriosity, as one that had fit opportunities to know the contrary. For, first, Prince Edward was never created Duke of Cornwall, and there was no reason why he should; he being actually Duke of Cornwall at the hour of his birth, according to the entail which was made of that dukedom to the crown, by King Edward the Third[3]. And, secondly, he was never created Prince of Wales, nor then, nor any time thenafter following,—his father dying in the midst of the preparations which were intended for the pomp and ceremony of that creation. This truth confessed by Sir John Hayward, 9
in his History of the Life and Reign of this King[4], and generally avowed by all our heralds, who reckon none of the children of King Henry the Eighth amongst the Princes of Wales, although all of them successively by vulgar appellation had been so entitled. Which appears more plainly by a particular of the robes and ornaments which were preparing for the day of this solemnity, as they are entered on record in the book called The Catalogue of Honour, published by Thomas Mills of Canterbury[5], where it appears also that they were prepared only, but never used, by reason of the King's death, which prevented the solemnities of it.

17. The ground of this error I conceive first to be taken from John Stow, who, finding a creation of some noblemen, and the making of many knights, to relate to the 18th day of October, supposed it to have been done with reference to the creation of a Prince of Wales; whereas, if I might take the

[1] Edd. "13th."

[2] Stow, Chron. p. 575; Godw. Ann. Hen. VIII. p. 117. [p. 91.] Lord Herb. Hist. fol. 430. *Author.* [Herb. in Kennett, ii. 212.]

[3] See Collins, i. 40.

[4] p. 271.

[5] pp. 48—9. Compare §. 28, below. Edward in his Journal mentions that preparations were made for his investiture, but were interrupted by his father's death.—Burnet, II. ii. 3.

liberty of putting in my own conjecture, I should conceive rather that it was done with reference to the Prince's christening[1], as in like manner we find a creation of three earls, and five to inferior titles, at the christening of the Princess Mary, born to King James after his coming into England, and christened upon Sunday, the fifth of May, 1604[2]. And I conceive withal, that Sir Edward Seimour, Viscount Beauchamp, the Queen's elder brother, was then created Earl of Hartford, to make him more capable of being one of the godfathers, or a deputy-godfather at the least, to the royal infant; the court not being then in a condition, by reason of the mournful accident of the late Queen's death, to shew itself in any extraordinary splendour, as the occasion had required at another time[3]. Among which persons so advanced to the dignity and degree of knighthood, I find Mr Thomas Seimour, the Queen's youngest brother, to be one of the number; of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak more fully and particularly in the course of this History. No other alteration made in the face of the court; but that Sir William Paulet was made Treasurer, and Sir John Russell Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, on the said 18th day of October[4], (which I conceive to be the day of the Prince's christening)—both of them being principal actors in the affairs and troubles of the following times. Introduct.

18. But in the face of the Church there appeared some lines which looked directly towards a Reformation. For, besides the surrendering of divers monasteries, and the executing of some abbots and other religious persons for their stiffness, (if I may not call it a perverseness), in opposing the King's desires, there are two things of special note which concurred this year, as the prognostics or forerunners of those great events which after followed in his reign. For it appears by a memorial of the famous library of Sir Robert Cotton[5], that Grafton now made known to Cromwell the Movements towards a Reformation.

[1] The christening took place on Oct. 15.—Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 1.

[2] Stow, Chron. fol. 863. *Author.*

[3] It will be remembered that the Queen was really alive for some days after.

[4] Stow, 575.

[5] Cot. MS. p. 325. *Author.* [The letter is printed in Strype's

Introduct. finishing of the English Bible, of which he had printed 1500 at his own proper charges, amounting in the total to £500; desiring stoppage of a surreptitious edition in a less letter, which else would tend to his undoing:—the suit endeared by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, at whose request Cromwell presents one of the Bibles to the King, and procures the same to be allowed by his authority to be read publicly, without control, in all his dominions; and for so doing he receives a letter of thanks from the said Archbishop[1], dated August the 13th of this present year. Nor were the Bishops and Clergy wanting to advance the work, by publishing a certain book in the English tongue, which they entitled "The Institution of a Christian Man;" in which the doctrine of the Sacraments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments, were opened and expounded more perspicuously, and less abhorrent from the truth, than in former times. By which clear light of holy Scripture, and the principal duties of religion so laid open to them, the people were the better able to discern the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, from which by the piety of this Prince they were fully freed. And for a preamble thereunto the Rood of Boxley, commonly called the Rood of Grace, so artificially contrived (by reason of some secret wires in the body or concavities of it), that it could 10 move the eyes, the lips, &c. to the great wonder and astonishment of the common people, was openly discovered for a lewd imposture, and broke in pieces at St Paul's Cross, on Sunday the 24th of February[2]; the Rood of Bermondsey Abbey in Southwark following the same fortune also within six days[3].

Suppression of monasteries. Anno 1538.

19. The next year brings an end to almost all the monasteries and religious houses in the realm of England, surrendered into the King's hands by public instruments,

Cranmer, i. 393, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. Comp. Anderson, Annals of Eng. Bible, i. 577, seqq.]

[1] Strype, Cranmer, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. i. 127; Cranmer, Works, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 345.

[2] 1537-8.—Stow, 575. For the legend of this Rood, see Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent. An account of its exposure and destruction, by John Hooker, of Maidstone, who styles it "Bel Cantianus," in Burnet, III. ii. 55.

[3] Holinshed, iii. 805.

under the seals of all the several and respective convents, and those surrenderies ratified and confirmed by act of parliament[1]. And this occasionally conduced to the future peace and quiet of this young Prince, by removing out of the way some great pretenders who otherwise might have created to him no small disturbance. For so it happened, that Henry, Earl of Devonshire, and Marquess[2] of Exeter, descended from a daughter of King Edward the Fourth, and Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, descended from a daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, the second brother of that Edward, under colour of preventing or revenging the dissolution of so many famous abbeys and religious houses, associated themselves with Sir Edward Nevil and Sir Nicholas Carew, in a dangerous practice against the person of the King[3] and the peace of the kingdom. By whose indictment it appears that it was their purpose and design to destroy the King, and advance Reginald Pole, one of the younger brothers of the said Lord Montacute, (of whom we shall hear more in the course of this History), to the regal throne. Which, how it could consist with the pretensions of the Marquess of Exeter, or the ambition of the Lord Montacute, the elder brother of this Reginald, it is hard to say. But, having the Chronicle of John Speed[4] to justify me in the truth hereof in this particular, I shall not take upon me to dispute the point. The dangerous practice of which persons did not so much retard the work of Reformation as their execution did advance it. To this year also appertaineth the suppressing of pilgrimages, the defacing of the costly and magnificent shrines of our Lady of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester[5], &c., and more particularly of Thomas Becket[6], Introduct. Shrines destroyed.

1 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13. (1539); Herb. 217-8.

2 Edd. 1, 2, "Mary, wife."

3 Wriothesley, in a letter to Wyatt (Ellis, Orig. Letters, 2nd Ser. ii. 109), says that they had designs "against the King *and the Prince*."

4 p. 791. Comp. Stow, 576; Herbert, 216; Phillips' Life of Pole, i. 282.

5 Hall, 726; Cromwell's Injunctions, in Burnet, B. iii. Rec. No. xi.

6 It may be observed that here and elsewhere Heylyn is free from the error, now almost universal, of styling this celebrated person, "Thomas *a* Becket." "The name of the Archbishop was *Thomas Becket*: nor can it be otherwise found to have been written in any authentic history, record, kalendar, or other book. If the vulgar did formerly,

Introduct. once Archbishop of Canterbury; this last so rich in jewels of most inestimable value, that two great chests were filled with the spoils thereof, so heavy and capacious, as is affirmed by Bishop Godwin[1], that each of them required no fewer than eight men to carry them out of the church, nothing inferior to gold being charged within them. More modestly in this than Sanders, that malicious sycophant, who will have no less than twenty-six wain load of silver, gold, and precious stones, to be seized into the King's hands by the spoil of that monument[2]. Which proceedings so exasperated the Pope then being, that without more delay, by his bull of January 1, he deprived the King of his dominions[3], and caused the sentence of his deprivation to be posted up at the towns of Bruges, Tourney, and Dunkirk in Flanders, at Bulloign and Dieppe in France, and St Andrew's in Scotland; effecting nothing by the unadvisedness of that desperate counsel, but that the King became more fixed in his resolutions, and more averse from all the thoughts of reconciliation with the see of Rome.

The Pope's bull of deprivation. Anno 1539.

20. The surrenderies of the former year, confirmed by act of parliament in the beginning of this, drew after it the final dissolution of all the rest, none daring to oppose that

as it doth seem, call him *Thomas a Becket*, their mistake is not to be followed by learned men."—H. Wharton, note on Strype's Cranmer, p. 257.

[1] Godwin, Ann. p. 92; Stow, p. 576. Comp. Jenkyns' note on Cranmer, i. 262.

[2] Hist. Schism. Angl. p. 139; where, however, he adds "sacred vestments" to the list of things with which the waggons were filled. Comp. Burnet, i. 296.

[3] Paul III. had issued a bull of deprivation, dated August 30th, 1535, but had suspended the enforcement of it. He now (Dec. 7th, 1538) proceeded to direct the execution, alleging Henry's late outrages against monasteries, shrines, &c. as a reason why no further indulgence should be shewn.—Wilkins, iii. 792-797; 840-841. Heylyn is not quite accurate as to the places prescribed for publication. The earlier bull names Rome, Tournay, and Dunkirk; the later, Dieppe, Rouen or Boulogne, St Andrew's or Coldstream, and Tuam or Ardfert (i. e. a French, a Scotch, and an Irish town). The mention of *Bruges* seems to have arisen from a misapprehension of the name of the Collegiate Church of Tournay,—"B. Mariæ *Burgen.* Tornacen." Sanders speaks of Tournay, Bruges, and Dunkirk, 111.

violent torrent, which seemed to carry all before it; but the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury quarrelled, for which they were severally condemned and executed[1], under colour of denying the King's supremacy[2]; and their rich abbeys seized upon as confiscations to the use of the King, which brought him into such a suspicion of separating from the communion of the Church of Rome, that, for the better vindicating of his integrity as to the particulars, he passed in the same parliament the terrible statute of the Six Articles, which drew so much good blood from his protestant subjects. Introduct. Act of Six Articles, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. Anno 1540.

21. And being further doubtful in himself what course to steer, he marries[3] at the same time with the Lady Ann, sister unto the Duke of Cleve, whom not long after he divorceth; advanceth his great minister, Cromwell, (by whom he had made so much havoc of religious houses in all parts of the realm), to the Earldom of Essex[4], and sends him headless to his grave within three months after[5]; takes to his bed the Lady Katharine Howard[6], a niece of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and in short time found cause enough to cut off her head[7]; not being either the richer in children by so many wives, nor much improved in his revenue by such horrible rapines. In the midst of which confusions he sets the wheel of Reformation once more going, by moderating the extreme severity of the said statute touching the Six Articles[8], abolishing the superstitious usages accustomedly observed on St Nicholas' day[9], and causing the English Bible of the larger Anno 1541.

1 Stow, 277; Herb. 217.

2 Godwin, 96. "What the particulars were I cannot tell; for the record of their attainders is lost. But some of our own writers deserve a severe censure, who write, it was for denying the King's supremacy; whereas, if they had not undertaken to write the history without any information at all, they must have seen that the whole clergy, but most particularly the abbots, had over and over again acknowledged the King's supremacy."—Burnet, i. 480.

3 Jan. 6. 4 Apr. 14.—Stow, 579.

5 July 28. 6 Aug. 8.—Herb. 225.

7 Feb. 13, 1541.—Herb. 229; Stow, 581.

8 Fuller, iii. 201; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 10; 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

9 See Neale on Feasts and Fasts, p. 179. The decree recites that on this and certain other days "children be strangely decked and apparelled to counterfeit priests, bishops, and women; and so led with

Introduct. volume to be set up in all and every parish church within the kingdom, for such as were religiously minded to resort unto it[1].

Transactions with Scotland. Anno 1542.

22. The Prince had now but newly finished the fifth[2] year of his age, when a fit wife was thought of for him upon this occasion. The Pope, incensed against King Henry, had not long since sententially deprived him of his kingdom, as before was said. And having so done, he made an offer of it to King James the Fifth, then King of the Scots, the only son of Margaret, his eldest sister, wife of James the Fourth. To whom he sent a breve to this effect, viz.:

"That he would assist him against King Henry, whom in his consistory he had pronounced to be an heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, a public murderer, a committer of sacrilege, a rebel, and convict of *læsæ Majestatis*, for that he had risen against his Lord, and therefore that he had justly deprived him of his kingdom, and would dispose the same to him and other Princes, so as they would assist him in the recovery of it[3]."

23. This could not be so closely carried but that the King had notice of it, who from thenceforth began to have a watchful eye upon the actions of his nephew; sometimes alluring him unto his party, by offering him great hopes and favours, and practising at other times to weaken and distract him, by animating and maintaining his own subjects against him. At last, to set all right between them, an interview was appointed to be held at York, proposed by Henry, and condescended to by James. But when the day appointed came, the Scots King failed, being deterred from making his appearance there by some popish Prelates, who put into his head a fear of being detained a prisoner, as James the First had been by King Henry the Fourth[4]. Upon this breach the King makes

songs and dances from house to house, blessing the people and gathering of money; and boys do sing, mass, and preach in the pulpit, rather to the derision than to any true glory of God, or honour of his saints." —Wilkins, iii. 860.

[1] May 6, 1541.—Wilkins, iii. 856.

[2] Edd. "first."

[3] Speed ex John Leshly, fol. 1014. *Author.* [p. 783, ed. 1627; Leslæus de Moribus, &c. Scotorum, 420.]

[4] Among the other reasons alleged (by Cardinal Beaton and his

ready for war, sets out a manifest of the reasons which induced him to it, amongst which he insists especially on the neglect of performing that homage[1] which anciently had been done, (and still of right ought to be done), to the Kings of England. In prosecuting of which war, the Duke of Norfolk entered Scotland with an army, October 21, anno 1542, wastes and spoils all the country; followed not long after by an army of Scots, consisting of 15,000 men, which in like manner entered England, but were discomfited by the valour and good fortune of Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir William Musgrave, with the help of some few borderers only,—the Scots, upon some discontent, making little resistance[2]. In which fight, besides many of the Scottish nobility, were taken eight hundred prisoners of inferior note, twenty four pieces of ordnance, some cart-loads of arms, and other booty. Introduct.

24. On the 19th of December the Scottish Lords, and other of the principal prisoners, to the number of twenty or thereabouts, were brought into London; followed on the third day after with the news of the death of King James[3], and the birth of the young Queen his daughter[4]. This put King Henry on some thoughts of uniting the two crowns in a firm and everlasting league, by the marriage of this infant Queen with his son Prince Edward: in pursuance whereof he sent for the imprisoned Lords, feasted them royally at Whitehall, and dealt so effectually with them by himself and his ministers, that they all severally and jointly engaged themselves to promote this match[5]. Dismissed into their own country upon these pro- Project of marriage between Prince Edward and Queen Mary.

friends), was the danger of incurring the Pope's displeasure by holding too familiar communication with a Sovereign in Henry's condition.—Spottiswoode, p. 70. The Scottish King afterwards offered to meet Henry at York, in January (154½), but demanded as a previous condition redress for incursions which the English borderers about this time made with Scotland.—Tytler, v. 242 (from documents in the State Paper Office). Comp. Lesl. 432; Speed, 793; Keith, ed. Edinb. 1844, i. 45.

[1] Herbert, 232; Lesl. 437.

[2] Stow, 583; Herbert, 233; Tytler, v. 250. The immediate cause of the "discontent" which produced the rout of Solway Moss, (already mentioned, p. 3) was the appointment of Oliver Sinclair, King James's favourite, as general.

[3] Dec. 13. [4] Dec 7. [5] Lesl. 442; Stow, 584.

Introduct. mises and the leaving of hostages, they followed the negotiation 12
with such care and diligence, that on the 29th of June, in the year ensuing (notwithstanding the great opposition made against them by the Queen dowager, Cardinal Beton, and divers others who adhered to the faction of France), they brought the business at the last to this conclusion, viz.:

"1. That the Lords of Scotland shall have the education of the Princess for a time, yet so as it might be lawful for our King to send thither a nobleman and his wife, with a family under twenty persons, to wait on her. 2. That at ten years of age she should be brought into England, the contract being
Anno 1543. first finished by a proxy in Scotland. 3. That within two months after the date hereof, six noble Scots should be given as hostages for the performance of the conditions on their part: and that if any of them died, their number should be supplied. 4. And furthermore it was agreed upon, that the realm of Scotland (by that name) should preserve its laws and rights; and that peace should be made for as long time as was desired, the French being excluded[1]."

Wars with Scotland and France. 25. But though these capitulations thus agreed on were sent into England, signed and sealed, in the August following, yet the Cardinal and his party grew so strong, that the whole treaty came to nothing; the noblemen who had been prisoners falsifying their faith, and choosing rather, (the Lord Kenneth[2], Earl of Cassiles, excepted), to leave their hostages to King Henry's mercy than to put themselves into his power. Provoked therewith, the King denounceth war against them, and, knowing that they depended chiefly upon the strength of France, he pieceth with the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and proclaimeth war against the French[3]. Following the war against both kingdoms, he causeth many inroads to be made into Scotland, wasting and harassing that poor country; and with a royal army passeth over into France, where he made

[1] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, folio, 1814, vol. ii. pp. 425-6.

[2] Gilbert Kennedy.—Herbert, 235. We must not, however, on this account, erect Cassilis into a hero. He became a most unscrupulous instrument of the English King, and Mr Tytler's research has discovered that he made him an offer to assassinate Cardinal Beaton.—v. 321, 330.

[3] Herb. 236.

himself master of the strong town of Bulloign, with the forts about it, into which he made his royal entry, Sept. 25, 1544[1]. The rest of the King's life spent in continual action against both nations, in which the enemies had the worst, though not without some loss to the English also; the poor Scots paying so dearly for their breach of faith, that no year passed in which their country was not wasted and their ships destroyed. Toward the charges of which wars, the King obtained a grant in parliament of all chantries, colleges, hospitals, and free chapels, with the lands thereunto belonging, to be united to the crown[2]. But, dying before he had took the benefit of it, he left that part of the spoil to such of his ministers who had the managing of affairs in his son's minority. Introduct. Anno 1544.

26. In the meantime the Prince, having attained unto the age of six years, was taken out of the hands of his women, and committed to the tuition of Mr John Cheeke, whom he afterwards knighted and advanced him to the provostship of King's College in Cambridge, and Dr Richard Cox, whom afterwards he preferred to the deanery of Westminster[3], and made chief Almoner. These two, being equal in authority, employed themselves to his advantage in their several kinds,—Dr Cox for knowledge of divinity, philosophy, and gravity of manners; Mr Cheeke for eloquence in the Greek and Latin tongues. Besides which two he had some others to instruct him in the modern languages, and thrived so well amongst them all, that in short time he perfectly spake the French tongue, and was able to express himself significantly enough in the Italian, Greek, and Spanish[4]. And as for Latin, he was such an Education of Prince Edward. Anno 1545.

[1] Stow, 588; Godwin, 110. But Hall (863) and Herbert (216) date the King's entry on the 18th.

[2] 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4. "This act was made so general that even those great nurseries of learning, the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, with those of Winchester and Eton, were included; and upon the breaking up of the Parliament, notice was sent to both the universities, that their colleges were at the King's disposal. This put them upon petitioning for mercy, which was soon obtained, and letters of thanks were sent for the continuance of them."—Burn, Eccl. Law, ii. 537.

[3] Oct. 22, 1549.—Monast. Anglic. i. 231. Cox was Bishop of Ely from 1559 to 1581.—Godwin de Præsul. 273-4.

[4] Hayward, 274.

Introduct. early proficient in it, that before he was eight years old he is said to have written the ensuing letter to the King his father; seconding the same with another to the Earl of Hartford, as he did that also with a third to the Queen Katharine Parr, whom his father had taken to wife, July the 12th, 1543. And though these letters may be used as good evidences of his great proficiency, with reference to the times in which he lived; yet 13
in our days—in which either the wits of men are sooner ripe, or the method of teaching more exact and facile—they would be found to contain nothing which is more than ordinary. Now his letter to the King—(referring the reader for the other two, unto Fox and Fuller)[1]—it bears date on the 27th day of September, when he wanted just a fortnight of eight years old, and is this that followeth.

PRINCE EDWARD'S EPISTLE TO THE KING[2], SEPTEMBER 27, 1545.

Literæ meæ semper habent unum argumentum, Rex nobilissime atque pater illustrissime, id est, in omnibus epistolis ago tibi gratias pro beneficentia tua erga me maxima; si enim sæpius multo ad te literas exararem, nullo tamen quidem modo potui pervenire officio literarum ad magnitudinem benignitatis tuæ erga me. Quis enim potuit compensare beneficia tua erga me? Nimirum nullus qui non est tam magnus Rex ac nobilis Princeps ac tu es, cujusmodi ego non sum. Quamobrem pietas tua in me multo gratior est mihi, quod facis mihi quæ nullo modo compensare possim[3]; sed tamen adnitar, et faciam quod in me est, ut placeam Majestati [tuæ], atque precabor Deum, ut diu te servet incolumem. Vale, Rex nobilissime, [atque pater illustrissime.]

Majestati tuæ observantissimus[4] filius,

EDVARDUS PRINCEPS.

Hatfeldiæ[5], vicesimo septimo Septemb.

[1] Fuller, iv. 115-116. There are letters to Cranmer in Fox, vi. 350.
[2] Fuller, iv. 114.
[3] "Possum," edd. Heyl.
[4] "obsequentissimus," Fuller.
[5] "Halfeldiæ," edd.

27. For a companion at his book, or rather for a proxy to bear the punishment of such errors as either through negligence or inadvertency were committed by him, he had one Barnaby FitsPatrick,—the son[1], (if I conjecture aright,) of that Patrick whom I find amongst the witnesses to King Henry's last will and testament, as also amongst those legatees which are therein mentioned, the King bequeathing him the legacy of one hundred marks. But whether I hit right or not, most probable it is that he had a very easy substitution of it; the harmlessness of the Prince's nature, the ingenuity of his disposition, and his assiduity at his book, freeing him for the most part from such corrections to which other children at the school are most commonly subject. Yet, if it sometimes happened, as it seldom did, that the servant suffered punishment for his master's errors, it is not easy to affirm whether FitsPatrick smarted more for the fault of the Prince, or the Prince conceived more grief for the smart of FitsPatrick[2]. Once I am certain that the Prince entertained such a real estimation of him, that, when he came unto the crown, he acquainted him by letter with the sufferings of the Duke of Somerset[3], instructed and maintained him for his travels in France, endowed him with fair lands in Ireland, (his native country), and finally made him Baron of Upper Ossery, which honourable title he enjoyed till the time of his death, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, at what time he died a
14 zealous and religious Protestant[4]. One thing I must not pretermit, to shew the extraordinary piety of this hopeful Prince in the days of his childhood, when, being about to take down something which seemed to be above his reach, one of his fellows proffered him a bossed-plated bible, to stand upon, and heighten him for taking that which he desired. Which, Introduct.

[1] He was son of Barnabas Fitzpatrick, who was created Baron of Upper Ossory in 1541.—Collins, viii. 293, seqq. We cannot well suppose this nobleman to be the same with the "Patrick" of Henry's will; and Heylyn is mistaken in stating that the son was the first Baron, and received the title from Edward.

[2] "As Fitzpatrick was beaten *for* the Prince, so the Prince was beaten *in* Fitzpatrick."—Fuller, iv. 88.

[3] See below, Edw. v. 35.

[4] Fuller, iv. 90. He died Sept. 11, 1581.—Collins; who gives a high character of him from a letter of Sir H. Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Introduct. when he perceived to be a bible, with holy indignation he refused it, and sharply reprehended him that made the offer[1]. A strong assurance of that dear esteem and veneration in which he held that sacred book in his riper years.

Preparations for his investiture as Prince of Wales. Anno 1546.

28. Having attained the age of nine, there were great preparations made for his solemn investiture in the Principality of Wales, together with the Earldoms of Chester and Flint, as dependents on it. Toward which pomp I find a provision to be made of these ornaments and habiliments following[2]; that is to say, "First, an honourable habit, viz. a robe of purple velvet, having in it about eighteen ells, more or less, garnished about with a fringe of gold, and lined with ermines; a surcoat, or inner gown, having in it about fourteen ells of velvet, of like colour, fringe, and fur; laces, buttons, and tassels (as they call them), ornaments made of purple silk and gold; a girdle of silk, to gird his inner gown; a sword, with a scabbard made of purple silk and gold, garnished with the like girdle he is girt withal, thereby shewing him to be Duke of Cornwall by birth, and not by creation. A cap of the same velvet that his robe is of, furred with ermines, with laces and a button, and tassels on the crown thereof, made of Venice gold: a garland, or a little coronet of gold, to be put on his head, together with his cap. A long golden verge, or rod, betokening his government. A ring of gold also, to be put on the third finger of his left hand, whereby he was to declare his marriage made with equity and justice[3]." But scarce were these provisions ready, but the King's sickness brought a stop, and his death shortly after put an end, to those preparations; the expectation of a principality being thereby changed to the possession of a crown.

29. For the King, having long lived a voluptuous life, and indulgent too much unto his palate, was grown so corpulent, or rather so overgrown with an unwieldy burden of flesh, that he was not able to go up stairs, from one room to another, but as he was hoised up by an engine[4]: which filling his body with foul and foggy humours, and those humours falling into his leg, in which he had an ancient and uncured sore, they there began to settle to an inflammation, which did both waste his

[1] Fuller, iv. 117. [2] Hayward, 275.
[3] Mills' "Catalogue of Honour," p. 28.
[4] Thuan. Hist. l. iii. c. 5. (t. i. p. 104).

spirits and increase his passions. In the midst of which distempers, it was not his least care to provide for the safety of his son, and preserve the succession of the crown to his own posterity. At such time as he had married Queen Anne Bollen, he procured his daughter Mary to be declared illegitimate by act of parliament; the like he also did by his daughter Elizabeth[1], when he had married Queen Jane Seimour, settling the crown upon his issue by the said Queen Jane. But having no other issue by her but Prince Edward only, and none at all by any of his following wives, he thought it a high point of prudence, (as indeed it was), to establish the succession with more stays than one, and not to let it rest on so weak a staff as a child of little more than nine years of age. For which cause he procured an act of parliament, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, in which it is declared, "That in default of issue of the said Prince Edward, the crown should be entailed to the King's daughter, the Lady Mary, and the heirs of her body, and for default thereof to the King's daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, and for lack of such issue, to such as the King by his letters patents or his last will in writing should limit[2]."

Introduct.

The succession to the crown settled.

30. So that he had three children by three several wives, two of them born of questionable marriages, yet all made capable by this act of having their several turns in the succession, as it after proved. And though a threefold cord be not easily broken, yet he obtained further power for disposing the crown, if their issue failed; whereof, being now sick, and fearing his approaching end, he resolved to make such use, in laying down the state of the succession to the crown imperial, as was more agreeable to his private passions than the rules of justice; which appeared plainly by his excluding of the whole Scottish line, descended from the Lady Margaret, his eldest sister, from all hopes thereof; unless perhaps it may be said that the Scottish line might be sufficiently provided for by the marriage of the young Queen with the Prince his son, and that it was the Scots' own fault, if the match should fail.

31. This care being over, and the succession settled by

[1] See the Introductions to the reigns of Mary and Eliz.

[2] Act of An. 35 Henry VIII. cap. i. *Author.*

Introduct. his last will and testament, bearing date the 28th of December[1], being a full month before his death, he began to entertain some fears and jealousies touching the safety of the Prince, whom he should leave unto a factious and divided court, who were more like to serve their own turns by him than advance his interest. His brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, (in whom he most confided), died not long before[2]; the kindred of Queen Jane were but new in court, of no authority in themselves, and such as had subsisted chiefly by the countenance which she had from him. As they could contribute little to the defence of the Prince's person, and the preservation of his right, so there were some who had the power,—(and who could tell but that they also had the will?)—to change the whole frame of his design, and take the government to themselves.

Proceedings against the Duke of Norfolk and his son.

Amongst which there was none more feared than the noble Lord Henry, Earl of Surrey, the eldest son of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, strong in alliance and dependence, of a revenue not inferior to some foreign Kings, and that did derive his pedigree from King Edward the First. The Earl himself, beheld in general by the English as the chief ornament of the nation; highly esteemed for his chivalry, his affability, his learning, and whatsoever other graces might either make him amiable in the eyes of the people, or formidable in the sight of a jealous, impotent, and wayward Prince. Against him, therefore, and his father, there were crimes devised, their persons put under an arrest, their arraignment prosecuted at the Guildhall in London, where they both received the sentence of death[3]; which the Earl suffered on the Tower-hill, on the 19th of January, the old Duke being reserved by the King's death, (which followed within nine days after) for more happy times. Which brings into my mind a sharp but shrewd character of this King, occurring in the writings of some, but

[1] Dec. 30, as is rightly stated below, §. 42.

[2] Aug. 1546.—Stow, 589.

[3] They were arrested Dec. 12, 1546. Surrey, as a commoner, was tried at the Guildhall, Jan. 13; but the proceeding against the Duke was by a bill of attainder, founded on a confession which had been obtained from him. The royal assent was given to this on Jan. 27, and it was ordered that the execution should take place the following morning.—Lingard, vi. 360-363; Herbert, 265.

more common in the mouths of many, that is to say, that he "never spared woman in his lust, nor man in his anger." For proof of which last it is observed that he brought unto the block two Queens, two noble ladies, one cardinal declared; of dukes, marquesses, earls, and the sons of earls, no fewer than twelve; lords and knights eighteen; of abbots and priors thirteen; monks and religious persons about seventy seven[1]; and many more of both religions, to a very great number. So as it cannot be denied that he had too much, (as all great monarchs must have somewhat), of the tyrant in him. And yet I dare not say with Sir Walter Rawleigh, "that if all the patterns of a merciless Prince had been lost in the world, they might have been found in this one King[2];" some of his executions being justifiable by the very nature of their crimes, others to be imputed to the infelicity of the times in which he lived, and may be ascribed unto reasons of state, the exigencies whereof are seldom squared by the rule of justice. Introduct.

32. His infirmity, and the weakness which it brought upon him, having confined him to his bed, he had a great desire to receive the Sacrament; and being persuaded to receive it in the easiest posture, sitting or raised up in his bed, he would by no means yield unto it, but caused himself to be taken up, placed in his chair, in which he heard the greatest part of the Office, till the Consecration, and then received the blessed Sacrament on his knees, as at other times, saying withal, as Sanders[3] doth relate the story, "that if he did not only cast himself upon the ground, but even under it also, he could not give unto the Sacrament the honour which was due unto it." The instant of his death approaching, none of his Death of King Henry.

[1] Sand. de Schis. Angl. p. 214. *Author.* [p. 179, ed. Ingoldst. Sanders says: "Reginæ tres aut quatuor ad exitium perductæ, ... Cardinales item duo, tertiusque absens morti condemnatus." His expression is wider than Heylyn's "brought to the block;" so that Wolsey is included among the Cardinals, (with Fisher and Pole), and Katharine of Arragon among the Queens. The fourth Queen would seem to be Jane Seimour, inserted in the list of victims on the ground of the stories about the manner of Edward's birth.—Comp. Herbert, 267.]

[2] "If all the pictures and patterns of a merciless Prince were lost in the world, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the story of this King."—Pref. to Hist. of the World, p. 8. Lond. 1614.

[3] p. 177.

Introduct. servants, though thereunto desired by his physicians, durst acquaint him with it[1]. Till at last Sir Anthony Denny under- 16
took that ungrateful office, which the King entertaining with less impatience than was looked for from him, gave order that Archbishop Cranmer should be presently sent for. But, the Archbishop being then at his house in Croydon, seven miles from Lambeth, it was so long before he came, that he found him speechless. Howsoever, applying himself to the King's present condition, and discoursing to him on this point, that salvation was to be obtained only by faith in Christ, he desired the King, that, if he understood the effect of his words, and believed the same, he would signify as much by some sign or other; which the King did, by wringing him gently by the hand, and within short time after he gave up the ghost[2]; when he had lived fifty-five years, seven months, and six days over; of which he had reigned thirty-seven years, nine months, and six days also.

Henry's relations with foreign Princes.

33. Having brought King Henry to his death, we must next see in what estate he left the kingdom to his son, with reference to the condition of affairs both at home and abroad. Abroad, he left the Pope his most bitter enemy, intent on all advantages for the recovery of the power and jurisdiction which had been exercised in England by his predecessors; and all the Princes of his party, in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, either in action or design concurring with him. The protestant Kings and Princes he had disobliged, by repudiating the Lady Ann of Cleve, and the precipitated death of Cromwell, upon whose power and favour with him they did most rely. But nothing did more alienate their affections from him than the persecution raised at home upon the terrible statute of the Six Articles, before remembered; by which they saw themselves condemned and executed, in the persons of those who suffered for the same religion which themselves professed. And as for the two great Kings of France and Spain, he had so carried himself between them, that he was rather feared of both than beloved by either of them. The realms and seignories of

[1] "For fear of the Act passed before in Parliament, that none should speak anything of the King's death—(the Act being made only for soothsayers, and talkers of prophecies)."—Fox, v. 489.

[2] Jan. 28, 1546-7.—Fox, v. 689; Godwin, 119; Fuller, iv. 234-5.

Spain, (except Portugal only), together with the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, and the estates belonging to the house of Burgundy in the Belgic provinces, were all united in the person of Charles the Fifth; to which he added by his own proper power and valour, the dukedoms of Millain and Gulldress, the earldom of Zutphen, with the estates of Groiningen, Utrecht, and Over-yssel. And on the other side, the French Kings were not only in the quiet possession of those goodly territories, (Normandy, Guienne, and the rest), which anciently belonged to the Kings of England; but lately had impatronized themselves of the dukedoms of Burgoine and Bretagne, and the earldom of Provence, all meeting in the person of King Francis the First. Of which two great and puissant Princes, the first being resolved to admit no equal, and the second to acknowledge no superior, they endeavoured by all ways and means imaginable to subdue each other, whereby the conqueror might attain in time to the empire of Europe. It was therefore King Henry's chiefest care, as it was his interest, to keep the scales so even between them, that neither of them should preponderate, or weigh down the other, to the endangering of the rest of the Princes of Christendom: which he performed with so great constancy and courage, as made him in effect the arbitrer at all times between them[1]. So as it may be truly affirmed of him, that he sat at the helm, and steered the great affairs of Christendom to what point he pleased. But then withal, as his constant and continual standing to this maxim of state made him friend to neither, so he was suspected of them both; both having also their particular animosities against his person and proceedings. The Emperor irreconcilably incensed against him for the injury done unto his aunt, from whom he had caused himself to be divorced; the French King no less highly enraged by the taking of Bulloign, for which, though the King had shuffled up a peace with France[2], Prince Edward shall be called to a sober reckoning, when he least looks for it. Introduct.

34. To look to matters near at home, we find the Scots exasperated by his annual inroads, but more by his demanding the long-neglected duty of homage to be performed from that 17 State of affairs at home.

[1] Herbert, 267.

[2] June 7, 1546.

Introduct. kingdom to the crown of England: the Irish, on the other side of the sea, being kept under by strong hand, but standing upon no good terms of affection with him; the executing of the young Earl of Kildare and five of his uncles at one time[1] being fresh in memory, and neither forgotten nor forgiven by the rest of the clans. And as for England itself, the people were generally divided into schisms and factions; some being too stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, as others no less busy in their new *Sumpsimus*, as he used to phrase it[2]. The treasures of the crown exhausted by prodigal gifts, and his late chargeable expedition against the French; the lands thereof charged with rents and pensions granted to abbots, priors, and all sorts of religious persons, some of which remained payable, and were paid accordingly, till the time of King James[3]; and, which was worst of all, the money of the realm so embased[4] and mixed, that it could not pass for current amongst foreign nations, to the great dishonour of the kingdom, and the loss of the merchant. For though an infinite mass of jewels, treasure in plate, and ready money, and an incredible improvement of revenue had accrued unto him by such an universal spoil and dissolution of religious houses, yet was he little or nothing the richer for it. Insomuch that in the year 1543, being within less than seven years after the general suppression of religious houses, he was fain to have recourse for moneys to his houses of parliament, by which he was supplied after an extraordinary manner; the clergy at the same time giving him a subsidy of 6*s.* in the pound, to be paid out of all their spiritual promotions, poor stipendiary priests paying each 6*s.* 8*d.* to

[1] 1537.—Herb. 212; Godwin, 87-8.

[2] "I see and hear daily that you of the clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another without charity or discretion; some be too stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, others be too busy and curious in their new *Sumpsimus*."—The King's Oration in the Parliament-House, 1545, Hall, 865; Wilkins, iii. 872.

[3] Fuller, iii. 462, mentions a monk or nun in Hampshire, who received a payment as late as the fifth year of King James.

[4] Ed. 3 reads "debased;" but if this were the right word, the reading of Edd. 1, 2, "imposed," could hardly have arisen. "Imbased" or "embased" is used by Holinshed, iii. 1031; Burnet, II. ii. 557.

increase the sum[1]. Which also was so soon consumed, that the next year he pressed his subjects to a benevolence, for carrying on his war with France and Scotland[2]; and in the next obtained the grant for all chantries, hospitals, colleges, and free chapels within the realm, though he lived not to enjoy the benefit of it, as before was said[3]. Introduct.

35. Most true it is, that it was somewhat of the latest before he cast his eye on the lands of bishopricks, though there were some who thought the time long till they fell upon them. Concerning which there goes a story, that, after the court-harpies had devoured the greatest part of the spoil which came by the suppression of abbeys, they began to seek some other way to satiate that greedy appetite which the division of the former booty had left unsatisfied, and for the satisfying whereof they found not any thing so necessary as the Bishops' lands. This to effect, Sir Thomas Seimour is employed as the fittest man,—as being in favour with the King, as brother to Queen Jane, his most and best beloved wife; and having the opportunity of access unto him, as being one of the gentlemen of his privy chamber. And he, not having any good affection to Archbishop Cranmer, desired that the experiment should be tried on him, and therefore took his time to inform the King that the Lord of Canterbury did nothing but fell his woods, letting long leases for great fines, and making havoc of the royalties of his archbishoprick, to raise thereby a fortune to his wife and children; withal he did acquaint the King that the Archbishop kept no hospitality, in respect of such a large revenue; and that in the opinion of many wise men it was more meet for the Bishops to have a sufficient yearly stipend out of the exchequer, than to be so encumbered with temporal royalties, being so great a hinderance to their studies and pastoral charge, and that the said lands and royalties, being taken to his Majesty's use, would afford him, (besides the said annual stipends), a great yearly revenue. The King soon smelt out the device, and shortly after sent him on an errand to Lambeth, about dinner-time, where he found all the tables in the great hall to be very bountifully furnished, the Archbishop himself accompanied at dinner with divers persons of

[1] Stow, 585. [2] Stow, 588. [3] p. 25.

Introduct. quality, his table exceeding plentifully served, and all things answerable to the port of so great a prelate: wherewith the King being made acquainted at his coming back, he gave him 18
such a rattle for his false information, and the design which visibly depended on it, that neither he nor any other of the courtiers durst stir any further in the suit, whilst King Henry lived[1].

Spoilation of bishopricks by exchange of lands.

36. But the King, considering further of it, could not think fit that such a plausible proposition as taking to himself the lands of the Bishops should be made in vain. Only he was resolved to prey further off, and not to fall upon the spoil too near the court, for fear of having more partakers in the booty than might stand with his profit. And to this end
1545. he deals with Holgate, preferred not long before from Llandaff to the see of York; from whom he takes at one time no fewer than seventy manors and townships of good old rents, giving him in exchange, to the like yearly value, certain impropriations, pensions, tithes, and portions of tithes, (but all of an extended rent), which had accrued unto the crown by the fall of abbeys. Which lands he laid by act of parliament to the duchy of Lancaster. For which, see 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 16. He dismembered also by these acts, certain manors from the see of London, in favour of Sir William Petre[2]; and others in the like manner from the see of Canterbury, but not without some reasonable compensation or allowance for them[3]. And though, by reason of his death, which followed within short time after, there was no further alienation made in his time of the Church's patrimony; yet having opened such a gap, and discovered this secret, that the sacred patrimony might be alienated with so little trouble, the courtiers of King Edward's time would not be kept from breaking violently into it, and making up their own fortune in the spoil of the bishopricks. Of which we may speak more hereafter, in its proper place. So impossible a thing it is for the ill example of great Princes not to find followers in all ages, especially where profit or preferment may be furthered by it.

Bishopricks and Colleges founded by Henry.

37. But then it cannot be denied but that King Henry

[1] Fox, viii. 20.

[2] Edd. 1, 2, "Pety;" Ed. 3, "Petie."

[3] Strype, Cranmer, fol. p. 282. Comp. Collier, v. 150.

left the Church, in many respects, in a better condition than he found it; not only in order to the reformation of religion, which none but such a masculine Prince durst have undertaken, but also in the polity and endowments of it. The monasteries and religious houses might possibly be looked upon no otherwise than as so many excrescences upon the body of the Church;—exempt for the most part from the episcopal jurisdiction, wholly depending on the Pope, and such as might be taken away without any derogation to the Church, in power or patrimony[1]. But bishopricks, being more essential to the constitution of the same, he did not only preserve as before he found them, but increased their number. Such of the old cathedrals as were founded on a prior and convent, he changed into a corporation of secular priests, consisting of a Dean and Prebendaries, according to the proportion of their yearly rents; of which sort were the churches of Canterbury, Winton, Durham, Ely, Rochester, Norwich, and Carlisle[2]. Six of the wealthier monasteries he turned into episcopal sees,—that is to say, the abbeys of Westminster, Peterborough, Bristol, Gloucester, and Chester[3], with that of Ousney, for the see of the Bishop of Oxon; assigning to every new episcopal see its Dean and Chapter, and unto every such cathedral a competent number of quiremen and other officers, all of them liberally endowed and provided for. And that the Church might be continually furnished with sufficient seminaries, he founded a grammar-school in every one of his cathedrals, either old or new, with annual pensions to the master, and some allowance to be made to the children yearly; and ordained also, that in each of the two universities there should be public readers in the faculties of divinity, law, and physic, and in the Greek and Hebrew tongues; all which he pensioned and endowed with liberal salaries, as the times then were. Besides which public benefactions, he confirmed Cardinal Wolsie's college

Introduct.

1540-1-2.

[1] Compare Hooker, b. vii. c. 24, §. 23, vol. III. pp. 401-2, ed. Keble, Oxf. 1836.

[2] Fuller, iii. 443, and Collier, v. 83, add Worcester.

[3] Act 31 Hen. VIII. c. 6. The Bishops of Chester who are mentioned in earlier times were in reality Bishops of Lichfield.—Wharton, Specimen of Errors in Burnet, p. 50. A papal bull for six new bishopricks had been obtained in 1532.—Burnet, I. i. 246.

Introduct. in Oxon, by the name of King's College first, and of Christ-church afterwards; and erected that most beautiful pile of
1546. Trinity College in Cambridge[1]; those being the two fairest and most magnificent foundations in the Christian world. 19

Statutes for the independence of the national Church.

38. As for the polity of the Church, he settled it in such a manner that Archbishops and Bishops might be chosen, confirmed, and consecrated, and all the subjects be relieved in their suits and grievances, without having such recourse to the court of Rome as formerly had drained the realm of so much treasure. For having, by his proclamation of the 19th of September, anno 1530[2], prohibited all addresses and appeals to the Popes of Rome, he prevailed so far upon his Bishops and Clergy, entangled by the Cardinal's fall in a *præmunire*[3], that they acknowledged him in their convocation to be the "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England," and signified as much in a public instrument, bearing date the 22nd day of March next following[4]. Upon this ground were

[1] Fuller, iv. 444.

[2] Hall, 772. See below, Mary, Introd. §. 9.

[3] The pretence was that Wolsey had incurred the penalty by exercising his power as legate, and the clergy by submitting to it. And even this pretence appears to have been false. "When the statutes of præmunire were passed (says Dr Lingard, vi. 177), a power was given to the Sovereign to modify or suspend their operation at his discretion; and from that time it had been customary for the King to grant letters of licence or protection to particular individuals, who meant to act or had already acted against the letter of these statutes." And Wolsey declared that such a licence had been granted in his case: "My Lords Judges, quoth he, the King's highness knoweth whether I have offended his Majesty or no, in using of my prerogative legantine, for which I am indicted. I have the King's licence in my coffers under his hand and broad seal, for the exercising and using thereof in the most largest wise; the which now are in the hands of my enemies. Therefore, because I will not stand in question with the King in his own cause, I will here presently confess before you the indictment, and put me wholly into the mercy and grace of the King, trusting that he hath a conscience and a discretion to consider the truth, and my humble submission and obedience; wherein I might right well stand to the trial thereof by justice."—Cavendish, in Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. i. 576.

[4] Wilkins, iii. 742. Cf. Collier, iv. 179; Strype, Cranmer, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. xiii. Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. ii. 233, refers to Wake's State of the Church, pp. 474-480, for the best account of this transaction.

built the statutes prohibiting all appeals to Rome, and for determining all ecclesiastical suits and controversies within the kingdom, 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12; that for the manner of declaring, and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20; and the prohibiting the payment of all impositions to the court of Rome, and for obtaining all such dispensations from the see of Canterbury, which formerly were procured from the Popes of Rome, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 21. And finally, that for declaring the King to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and to have all honours and pre-eminences,—(and amongst others, the first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical promotions within the realm,)—which were annexed unto that title[1]. In the form of consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, and the rule by which they exercised their jurisdiction, there was no change made, but what the transposition of the supreme power from the Pope to the King must of necessity infer. For whereas the Bishops and Clergy, in the convocation anno 1532, had bound themselves neither to make nor execute any canons or constitutions ecclesiastical, but as they were thereto enabled by the King's authority[2]; it was by them desired, assented to by him, and confirmed in parliament, that all such canons and constitutions, synodal and provincial, as were before in use, and neither repugnant to the Word of God, the King's prerogative royal, or the known laws of the land, should remain in force, till a review thereof were made by thirty-two persons of the King's appointment. Which review not having been made from that time to this, all the said old canons and constitutions so restrained and qualified do still remain in force, as before they did. For this, consult the act of parliament 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 1[3]. And this and all the rest being settled, then followed finally the act for extinguishing the power of the Pope of Rome, 28 Hen. VIII. cap. 10, which before we mentioned.

Introduct.

39. In order to a reformation in points of doctrine, he

Reformations in doctrine.

[1] 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1. A.D. 1534.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 749-754.

[3] Read 19. For the *Reformatio Legum* drawn up in the following reign, see Edw. iii. 31; Gibson, Codex, 990*-1*; Strype, Cranm. Pt. i. c. 30.

Introduct. first directed his Bishops and Clergy in their convocation, anno 1537, to compile a book, containing the exposition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Avemary, and the Ten Commandments, together with an explication of the use and nature of the seven Sacraments, more clearly in itself, and more agreeable to the truth of holy Scripture, than in former times: which book, being called "The Institution of a Christian Man[1]," was by them presented to the King, who liked thereof so well, that he sent it by Doctor Barlow, Bishop of St David's[2], to King James the Fifth, hoping thereby to induce him to make the like reformation in the realm of Scotland as was made in England; though therein he was deceived of his expectation. But this book, having lain dormant for a certain time, that is to say, as long as the Six Articles were in force, was afterwards corrected and explained by the King's own hand: and being by him so corrected, was sent to be reviewed by Archbishop Cranmer; by him referred, (with his own emendations on it), to the Bishops and Clergy then assembled in their convocation, anno 1543, and by them approved[3]. Which care that godly prelate took, as

[1] Wilkins, iii. 830. This was not, however, the *first* attempt of the kind, a book of Articles having been published in 1536. See above, p. 10. On Cranmer's share in the authorship of the "Institution," see Jenkyns, Pref. xvii.

[2] Barlow's mission was in 1535, at which time the "Institution" had not been published. "The book sent was probably either Gardiner's treatise, 'De Vera Obedientia,' or another, 'De Vera Differentia Regiæ potestatis et Ecclesiasticæ;' both of which had been printed the year before." (Lingard, vi. 328.) The latter work was called "The King's Book," (Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 26) and was ascribed to Bp. Fox, of Hereford. (Wordsw. Eccl. Biog. ii. 42.) Strype says that Barlow was charged with "a very notable letter or declaration against the Pope," which he prints in his Appendix.—Eccl. Mem. i. 225. "James, acting by the advice of his Privy-Council, who were mostly ecclesiastics, and are described by Barlow as 'the Pope's pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil,' refused to accept the treatise which had been sent him by his uncle."—Tytler, Hist. Scotl. v. 208.

[3] Wilkins, iii. 868. The "Institution" was published in 1537, but without the formal authority of the King. Hence it was called "The Bishops' Book," while the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition" was called "The King's Book." Henry's notes on it, with Cranmer's remarks on them, are now printed in Cranmer's Remains. Dr Jenkyns has shewn (Pref. to Cranmer, xviii.—xx.) that there was a discussion

himself confesseth in a letter to a friend of his, bearing date, January 25, because, "the book being to come out by the King's censure and judgment, he would have nothing in the same, which Momus himself could reprehend[1]." Which being done, it was published shortly after, by the name of a "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man," with an epistle of the King's prefixed before it, in which it was commended to the perusal of all his subjects that were religiously disposed. Now, as the first book was ushered in by an injunction, published in September, anno 1536[2], by which all curates were required to teach the people to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Avemary, and the Ten Commandments, in the English tongue; so was the second countenanced by a proclamation which made way unto it, bearing date May the sixth, 1541, whereby it was commanded that the English Bible, of the larger volume[3], should publicly be placed in every parish church of the King's dominions. And here we are to understand, that the Bible, having been translated into the English tongue by the great pains of William Tyndal, (who after suffered for religion in the reign of this King[4]), was by the King's command suppressed, and the reading of it interdicted by proclamation; the Bishops and other learned men advising the restraint thereof, as the times then stood[5]. But afterward, the times being changed, and the people better fitted for so great a benefit, the Bishops and Clergy assembled in their convocation, anno 1536, humbly petitioned to the King, that the Bible, being faithfully trans-

about a new formulary in the convocation of 1540, but that nothing was actually concluded on until 1543, when the "Erudition" appeared. For the history of the two books, see Strype, Cranm. B. I. cc. xiii. and xxiv.

[1] MS. de Eccles. in Bishop [Bib.] Cot. p. 5. *Author.* [The letter, which is referred by the editors to the year 1538, is printed from the Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. f. 101, in Cranmer's Remains, i. 227, ed. Jenkyns; ii. 359, ed. Park. Soc.]

[2] Wilkins, iii. 814; Stow, 573. See above, p. 10.

[3] Wilkins, iii. 856. The words are "of the largest and greatest volume."—Comp. Heylyn's Tracts, pp. 7-10.

[4] At Vilvorde, near Mechlin, 1536.—Fox, v. 127.

[5] A.D. 1530.—Wilkins, iii. 740; Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, i. 258.

Introduct. lated, and purged of such prologues and marginal notes as formerly had given offence, might be permitted from thenceforth to the use of the people[1]. According to which godly motion, his Majesty did not only give order for a new translation, but in the interim he permitted Cromwell, his Vicar-general, to set out an injunction for providing the whole Bible[2], both in Latin and English, after the translation then in use, which was called commonly by the name of Matthew's Bible, (but was no other than that of Tyndal, somewhat altered[3]), to be kept in every parish church throughout the kingdom. And so it stood, (but not with such a general observation as the case required,) till the finishing of the new translation, printed by Grafton, countenanced by a learned preface of Archbishop Cranmer, and authorised by the King's proclamation of the sixth of May, as before was said. Finally, that the people might be better made acquainted with the prayers of the Church, it was appointed, a little before the King's going to Bulloign, anno 1544[4], that the Litany (being put into the same form almost in which now it stands)

[1] Anderson, i. 507.

[2] Collier, iv. 373. There seems, however, to be a mistake here; for various circumstances forbid the belief that the free use of the Bible was allowed so early as 1536: among them is the warmth of Cranmer's gratitude to Cromwell for countenancing the Bible of 1537. (Sup. p. 18.) The order for the English Bible in churches, which is usually printed in Cromwell's Injunctions of 1536, does not appear in the official copy in Cranmer's register, nor in that given by Wilkins; it was, no doubt, inadvertently inserted from a draft which was afterwards altered. The earliest actual authority for placing the English Bible in churches was Cromwell's injunction of Sept. 1538.—Jenkyns, Pref. to Cranmer, p. xxvii. and note, vol. i. p. 200; Anderson, i. 578.

[3] Tyndale had translated the whole of the New Testament, and had proceeded as far as the end of Chronicles in the Old Testament. The rest was done, with the assistance of Coverdale's version, by Rogers, who superintended the whole edition.—Anderson, i. 569.

[4] Edd. "1545," which is a manifest error. Henry's mandate is dated in June. (Burnet, i. 331, and Rec. 264, folio ed.) There is a letter from Cranmer to the King, dated October 7, probably in the same year, from Bekesbourne (which still possesses the remains of its archiepiscopal residence), on the subject of some "processions" (i. e. Litanies) which the primate had been desired to adapt from the Latin forms.—Cranmer, ed. Jenkyns, i. 314; ed. Park. Soc. ii. 412. Comp. Strype, Cranm. ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. i. 282.

should from thenceforth be said in the English tongue. So far this King had gone in order to a reformation, that it was no hard matter for his son, (or for those rather who had the managing of affairs during his minority), to go through with it. Introduct.

40. In reference to the regal state, he added to the royal style these three glorious attributes, that is to say, Defender of the Faith, The Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England, and King of Ireland. In what manner he obtained the title of Supreme Head, conferred upon him by the convocation in the year 1530, and confirmed by act of parliament in the 26th year of his reign, hath been shewn before[1]. That of Defender of the Faith was first bestowed upon him by Pope Leo the Tenth, upon the publishing of a book against Martin Luther, which book being presented unto the Pope by the hands of Dr Clark[2], afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, hath been preserved ever since amongst the choicest rarities of the Vatican Library. Certain it is that the Pope was so well pleased with the present as to receive the same in a solemn assembly of the Cardinals and Court of Rome, expressing the contentment which he took therein by a fluent oration, the copy whereof we have in Speed, fol. 991[3]. And whereas, in former time, the French were honoured with the title of Most Christian, and the Spaniard lately with the title of The Catholic King[4]; this Pope, in due acknowledgment of so great a merit, bestows on Henry the more glorious attribute of The Defender of the Faith. Which bull, being dated on the tenth of October, anno 1521, is to be found exemplified in the Titles of Honour[5], and thither I refer the reader for his satisfaction. Twenty-three years the King enjoyed this
21 title by no other grant than the donation of Pope Leo[6]. But

New titles added to the royal style.

[1] p. 38.

[2] John Clark, consecrated 1523. He is said to have been poisoned when on an embassy to the Grand Duke of Cleves, for the purpose of explaining Henry's behaviour towards the Princess Anne; and he died on his return to England, Feb. 1540-1.—Godwin de Præsul. 386.

[3] =771. [4] See Selden, iii. 178.

[5] Selden's Works, iii. 171, ed. 1726. Also in Speed, p. 771; Wilkins, iii. 693-695.

[6] The title was confirmed by Clement VII. A.D. 1524. The letter of this Pope to Henry is in the most flattering strain; e. g. "omnem humanam laudem tua incredibili virtute inferiorem esse statuamus

Introduct. then, considering with himself that it was first granted by that Pope as a personal favour[1], and not intended to descend upon his posterity, as also that the Popes, by the reason of such differences as were between them, might possibly take a time to deprive him of it[2], he resolved to stand no longer on a ground of no greater certainty. And therefore, having summoned his high court of parliament to assemble on the 29th of March, anno 1544, he procured this title to be assured unto his person, and to be made perpetual unto his heirs and successors for all times succeeding. For which consult the statute 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 3. And by the act it was ordained, that whosoever should maliciously diminish any of his Majesty's royal titles, or seek to deprive him of the same, should suffer death, as in case of treason; and that from thenceforth the style imperial should no otherwise be expressed than in this form following, that is to say, "*N. N.* by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on Earth of the Churches of England and Ireland the Supreme Head." By virtue of which act Queen Mary still retained this title[3], though she disclaimed the other of Supreme Head by act of parliament in the first year of her reign, as being incompatible with her submission and relations to the see of Rome.

41. As for the title of King of Ireland, it was first given unto this King by a parliament, there holden in the month of June, 1541, under Sir Anthony St Leger, being then Lord

necesse est;" and the book is declared to have been written "Sancto dictante Spiritu." On the subject of this title there is a curious essay by Luders, in the Archæologia, vol. xix. pp. 1-9.—Comp. Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. ii. 476; iii. 209.

[1] "Tibi perpetuum et proprium."—Wilkins, iii. 703.

[2] Campeggio, being sent by the Pope into Scotland, A.D. 1535, addressed James V. by the title of "Defender of the Faith;" and it appears by a letter in the State Paper Office that Henry remonstrated against this.—Tytler, Hist. Scotl. v. 209.

[3] "It was retained even by Philip and Mary, though the statute [of 35 Hen. VIII.] itself had been repealed" (Lingard, vi. 105); and "although Pope Julius III. in his bull to King Philip and Queen Mary, probably with a view to the revocation of the title by Paul III. in his bull against Henry, an. Regni 27, had not thought fit to use it, but addressed them 'Carissimis in Christo filiis nostris Philippo Regi et Mariæ Reginæ illustribus.'"—Stephens, Eccl. Statutes, 287.

Deputy[1]. The acts whereof being transmitted to the King, and by him confirmed, he caused himself to be first proclaimed King of Ireland on the 23d of January then next following[2]. Which, though it added somewhat to him in point of title, yet it afforded him no advantage in point of power, but that the name of King was thought to carry more respect and awe with it amongst the Irish than the title of Lord, which only till that time had been assumed by the Kings of England. For otherwise the Kings of England, from the first conquest of the country by King Henry the Second, enjoyed and exercised all manner of royalties and pre-eminences which do or can belong to the greatest Kings: governing the same by their Vicegerents, to whom sometimes they gave the title of Lord Lieutenants, sometimes Lord Deputies of Ireland; than whom no Viceroy in the world comes nearer to the pomp and splendour of a sovereign Prince. And though they took no other title to themselves than Lords of Ireland, yet they gave higher titles to their subjects there, many of which they advanced to the honour and degree of Earls. And at the same time when King Richard the Second contented himself with no higher style than Lord of Ireland, he exalted his great favourite Robert d'Vere, the tenth Earl of Oxon of that family, first, to the dignity and style of Marquess of Dublin, and after to the invidious appellation of Duke of Ireland[3], which he enjoyed unto his death. The country at the same time changed its title also, being formerly no otherwise called in our records than *terra Hiberniæ*, or "the land of Ireland," but from henceforth to be called upon all occasions, in acts of parliament, proclamations, and letters patents, by the name of *regnum Hiberniæ*, or "the realm of Ireland." At the assuming of which new title by this King the Scots were somewhat troubled, but the Pope much more. The Scots had then some footing in the north parts of that island, and thought the taking of that title by the Kings of England to tend to the endangering of their possession[4], or at least to bring them under subjection of a foreign Prince. And on the other side, it was complained of

Introduct.

1 Herbert, 230; Holinsh. iii. 823; Lingard, vi. 326.
2 Stow, 583. Comp. Selden, iii. 151, seqq.
3 Dugdale's Baronage, i. 194.
4 Sanders, 163; Speed, 793.

Introduct. in the court of Rome, as a great and visible encroachment on the papal power, to which it only appertained to erect new kingdoms; and that the injury was the greater in the present case, because the King, holding that island by no other title, (as it was then and there pretended), than by the donation of Pope Adrian to King Henry the Second, was not without the Pope's consent to assume that title[1]. But the King cared as little for the Pope as he did for the Scots, knowing how able he was to make good all his actings against them both; and not only for enjoying this title for the rest of his life, but for 22
the leaving of it to his heirs and successors. Though afterward Queen Mary accepted a new grant of it from the Pope then being[2].

Will of King Henry.

42. Having thus settled and confirmed the regal style, his next care was for settling and preventing all disputes and quarrels which might be raised about the succession of the crown, if the Prince, his son, should chance to die without lawful issue, as he after did. In which, as he discharged the trust reposed in him, so he waived nothing of the power which he had took unto himself by an act of parliament, made in that behalf, in the 35th year of his reign, as before was noted[3]. In pursuance whereof, finding himself sensibly to decay, but, having his wits and understanding still about him, he framed his last will and testament, which he caused to be signed and attested on the 30th of December, anno 1546, being a full month before his death; first published by Mr Fuller, in his Church History of Britain, Lib. v. fol. 243, 244[4]. And out of him I shall crave leave to transcribe so much thereof as may suffice to shew unto posterity the sense he had of his own condition, the vile esteem he had of his sinful body, what pious but unprofitable care he took for the decent interment of the same; in what it was wherein he placed the hopes of eternal life; and finally, what course he was pleased to take in the entailing of the crown after his decease, by passing over the line of Scotland, and settling the reversion in the house of Suffolk, if his own children should depart without lawful issue, as in fine they did. In which, and in some other points, not here summed up, the reader may best satisfy him-

[1] Ibid. [2] Mary, ii. 11. [3] p. 29.
[4] iii. 214-229, ed. Brewer. Comp. Rymer, Fœdera, xv. 110.

self by the words and tenour of the will, which are these that follow: Introduct.

"In the name of God, and of the glorious and blessed Virgin, our Lady St Mary, and of all the holy company of heaven: We Henry, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth, immediately under God, the Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, of that name the Eighth; calling to our remembrance the great gifts and benefits of Almighty God, given unto us in this transitory life, give unto him our most lowly and humble thanks, acknowledging ourselves insufficient in any part to deserve or recompense the same, but fear that we have not worthily received the same; and considering further also, that we be (as all mankind are) mortal, and born in sin, believing nevertheless, and hoping that every Christian creature living here in this transitory and wretched world, under God, dying in stedfast and perfect faith, endeavouring and exercising himself to execute in his life-time, if he have leisure, such good deeds and charitable works as Scripture commandeth, and as may be to the honour and pleasure of God, is ordained by Christ's passion to be saved[1], and attain eternal life; of which number we verily trust by his grace to be one:—

"And that every creature, the more high that he is in estate, honour[2], and authority in this world, the more he is bound to love, serve, and thank God, and the more diligently to endeavour himself to do good and charitable works, to the laud, honour, and praise of Almighty God, and the profit of his soul; we also calling to remembrance the dignity, estate, honour, rule and governance that Almighty God hath called us to[3] in this world; and that neither we nor any other creature mortal knoweth the place, time, when nor where, it shall please Almighty God to call him out of this transitory world; willing therefore, and minding with God's grace, before our passage out of the same, to dispose and order our latter mind,

[1] "sacred," Edd. [2] Fuller inserts "rule."
[3] "promoted us unto," Fuller, Rymer.

Will of Henry VIII.

will, and testament[1], in that sort as we trust it shall be acceptable to Almighty God, our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the holy company of heaven, and the due satisfaction of 23
all godly brethren in earth, have now, being of whole and perfect mind, adhering wholly to the right faith of Christ and his doctrine, repenting[2] also our old and detestable life, and being in perfect will and mind, by his grace, never to return to the same, nor[3] such-like, and minding by God's grace never to vary therefrom as long as any remembrance, breath[4], or inward knowledge doth or may remain within this mortal body; most humbly and heartily do commend and bequeath our soul to Almighty God, who in person of the Son redeemed the same with his most precious body and blood, in time of his passion, and, for our better remembrance thereof, hath left here with us, in his Church militant, the consecration and administration of his most precious body and blood, to our no little consolation and comfort, if we as thankfully accept the same, as he lovingly, and undeservedly on man's behalf, hath ordained it for our only benefit, and not his.

"Also, we do instantly require and desire the blessed Virgin Mary, his mother, with all the holy company of heaven, continually to pray for us, [and with us][5] whilst we live in this world, and in the time of passing out of the same, that we may the sooner attain everlasting life, after our departure out of this transitory life, which we do both hope and claim by Christ's passion [and word][5]. And for my body, [which][5] when the soul is departed, shall then remain but as a *cadaver*[6], and so return to the vile matter it was made of; were it not for the crown and dignity which God hath called us unto, and that we would not be counted[7] an infringer of honest worldly policies and customs, when they be not contrary to God's laws, we would be content to have it buried in any place accustomed for Christian folks, were it never so vile, for it is but ashes, and to ashes it shall

[1] Mr Brewer reads "to lament"!—an error which is not in the old edition of Fuller.

[2] "renouncing and abhorring," F.

[3] "and" edd. Heyl.

[4] "truth," edd. Heyl.

[5] Inserted from F. R.

[6] "dead carcase," F. R.

[7] "noted," R.

return. Nevertheless, because we would be loth, in the reputation of the people, to do injury to the dignity which we are unworthily called unto, we are content, and also by these presents, our last will and testament is, to will and order[1], that our body be buried and interred in the quire of our college of Windsor, middle way between the stalls[2] and the high altar, and there to be made and set, as soon as conveniently may be done after our decease, by our executors, at our costs and charges, if it be not done by us in our lifetime, an honourable tomb, for our bones to rest in, which is well onward, and almost made therefore already, with a fair grate about it; in which we will also that the bones of our true and loving wife Queen Jane be put also: and that there be provided, ordained, [made,][3] and set, at the cost and charge of us or of[4] our executors, if it be not done in our lifetime, a convenient altar, honourably prepared and apparelled with all manner of things requisite and necessary for daily mass[5], there to be said perpetually while the world shall endure. Also, we will that the tombs and altars of King Henry the Sixth, and also of King Edward the Fourth, our great uncle and grandfather, be made more princely, in the same place where they now be, at our charge." Will of Henry VIII.

Which care being taken for his tomb, he gives order that all divine offices accustomed for the dead should be duly celebrated for him; that at the removal of his body to Windsor 1000 marks should be distributed amongst the poor, to the end that they may pray for the remission of his sins and the wealth of his soul; that a revenue of 600 pound per annum be settled on the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, for performance of the uses in the will expressed, and more particularly for the maintenance of thirteen poor gentlemen, (to be called the Poor Knights of Windsor), at the rate of 12*d.* by the day to each of them, with a fee of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly to be superadded unto him which should be chosen the head and governor over all the rest. And that being done, he proceeds to the entailing of the crown, in this manner following—

[1] "will and ordain," F.; "do will and ordain," R.; both omitting "is to."

[2] "halls," F. ed. Brewer—which varies considerably from the folio; "stattes," R. [3] R. [4] "by," F. ed. Br. [5] "masses," F. R.

Will of Henry VIII.

"And as concerning the order and disposition of the imperial crown of this realm of England and Ireland, with our title of France, and all dignities, honours, and pre-eminences, prerogatives, authorities, and jurisdictions to the same annexed or belonging, and for the sure establishment of the succession of the same; and also for a full and plain gift, disposition, assignment, declaration, limitation, and appointment, with what conditions our daughters Mary and Elizabeth shall severally have, hold, and enjoy the said imperial crown, and other the like premises after our decease, and for default of issue and heirs of the several bodies of us and of our son Prince Edward lawfully begotten; and also for a full gift, disposition, assignment, declaration, limitation, and appointment to whom, and of what estate, and in[1] what manner, form[2], and condition, the said imperial crown and other the premises shall remain and come after our decease, and for default of issue and heirs of the several bodies of us, [and][3] of our said son Prince Edward, [and][3] of our said daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, lawfully begotten:—We by these presents do make and declare our last will and testament, concerning[4] the said imperial crown and all other the premises, in manner and form following. 24

"That is to say, we will by these presents, that immediately after our departure out of this present life our said son Prince Edward shall have and enjoy the said imperial crown, and realm of England [and Ireland][3], our title of France, with all dignities, honours, pre-eminences, prerogatives, authorities, and jurisdictions, lands and possessions, to the same annexed and[5] belonging, unto him, or to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten. And for default of such issue of our said son Prince Edward's body lawfully begotten, we will the same imperial crown, and other the premises after our [two][3] deceases, shall wholly remain and come to the heirs of our body lawfully begotten upon the body of our entirely beloved wife, Queen Katharine, that now is, or of any other our lawful wife that we shall hereafter marry. And for lack of such issue and heirs, we will also that after our decease, and for default of heirs of the several bodies of us and of our said son Prince Edward

[1] "of," edd. Heyl. [2] "fortune," edd. Heyl.
[3] F. R. [4] "conveying," edd. Heyl. [5] "or," F. R.

lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown and all other the premises shall wholly remain and come to our said daughter Mary, and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, upon condition that our said daughter Mary, after our decease, shall not marry nor take any person to her husband without the assent and consent of the Privy Counsellors and others, appointed by us to our dearest son Prince Edward aforesaid to be of council, or of the most part of them, or the most[1] of such as shall then be alive, thereunto, before the said marriage, had in writing, sealed with their seals. All which conditions we declare, limit, appoint, and will by these presents, shall be knit and invested to the said estate of our daughter Mary, in the said imperial crown, and other the premises. And if it fortune our said daughter Mary to die without issue of her body lawfully begotten, we will that after our decease, and for default of issue of the several bodies of us and of our said son Prince Edward lawfully begotten, and of our daughter Mary, the said imperial crown and other the premises shall wholly remain and[2] come to our said daughter Elizabeth, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, upon condition that our said daughter Elizabeth, after our decease, shall not marry or take any person to her husband without the assent and consent of the Privy Counsellors and others, appointed by us to be of council with our said dearest son Prince Edward, or the most part of them, or the most part of such of them as shall be then alive, thereunto, before the marriage, had in writing, sealed with their seals; which condition, we declare, limit, and appoint, and will by these presents, shall be to the said estate of our said daughter Elizabeth [in the said imperial crown, and other the premises][3] knit, and invested.

Will of Henry VIII.

" And, if it shall fortune our said daughter Elizabeth to die without issue of her body lawfully begotten, we will that after our decease, and for default of issue of the several bodies of us, and of our said son Prince Edward, and of our said daughters Mary and Elizabeth, the said imperial crown and other the premises, after our decease, shall wholly remain and come to the heirs of the body of the Lady Frances, our niece, eldest daughter to our late sister the French Queen, lawfully begotten. And for default of such issue of the body of the

[1] "part of such of them," F. ed. Br.; "part of such," R.
[2] "to," edd. Heyl.
[3] F. R.

Will of Henry VIII.

said Lady Frances, we will that the said imperial crown and other the premises, after our decease, and for default of issue of the several bodies of us, and of our son Prince Edward, and of our daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, shall wholly remain and come to the heirs of the body of the Lady Elianor our niece, second daughter to our said sister the French Queen, lawfully begotten. And if it happen the said Lady Elianor to die without issue of her body lawfully begotten, we will that after our decease, and for default of issue of the several bodies of us, and of our said son Prince Edward, and of our said daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the said Lady Frances, and of the said Lady Elianor, lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown and other the premises shall wholly remain and come to the next rightful heirs. And we will that if our said daughter Mary do marry without the assent and consent of the Privy Counsellors and others, appointed by us to be of council to our said son Prince Edward, or the most part of them[1] that shall then be alive, thereunto, before the said marriage, had in writing, sealed with their seals, as is aforesaid; that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of heirs of the several bodies of us and of our said son Prince Edward lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown [and other the premises][2] shall wholly remain, be, and come, to our said daughter Elizabeth, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, in such manner and form as though our said daughter Mary were then dead without any issue of the body of our said daughter Mary lawfully begotten; anything contained in this our will, or [in][2] any act of parliament or statute, to the contrary in any wise, notwithstanding. And in case our said daughter, the Lady Mary, do[3] keep and perform the said condition, expressed, declared, and limited to her estate in the said imperial crown and other the premises, in this our last will declared; and that our said daughter Elizabeth do not keep and perform, for her part, the said condition, declared and limited by this our last will to the estate of the said Lady Elizabeth in the said imperial crown of this realm[4] of England and Ireland, and other the premises: we

[1] "or the most part of them, or the most part of such of them as," R.; "or the most of them, or &c." F. ed. Br.

[2] F. ed. Br. R.

[3] "do not keep," R.

[4] "of these realms," F.; "in this realm," edd. Heyl.

will that then and from henceforth, after our decease, and for lack of heirs of the several bodies of us, and of our said son Prince Edward, and of our [said][1] daughter Mary, lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown and other the premises shall wholly remain and come to the next heirs lawfully begotten of the said Lady Frances, in such manner and form as though the said Lady Elizabeth were dead without any heir of her body lawfully begotten; any thing contained in this will, or in any act or statute, to the contrary, notwithstanding. The remainder over, for lack of issue of the said Lady Frances lawfully begotten, to be and continue to such persons, [in][2] like remainders, and estates, as is before limited, and declared. Will of Henry VIII.

"And we, being now at this time (thanks to Almighty God) of perfect memory, do constitute and ordain these personages following our executors and performers of our last will and testament; willing, commanding, and praying them to take upon them the occupation and performance[3] of the same, as executors: that is to say; The Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Wriothesley, Chancellor of England; the
26 Lord St John, Great Master of our House; the Earl of Hartford, Great Chamberlain; the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal; the Viscount Lisle, Lord High Admiral of England; the Bishop Tonstal, of Duresme; Sir Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of Our Horse; Sir Edward Montague, Knight, Chief Judge of the Common Pleas; Justice Bromley; Sir Edward North, Knight, Chancellor of the Augmentations; Sir William Paget, Knight, our Chief Secretary; Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, Knights, Chief Gentlemen[4] of our Privy Chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, Knight, and Mr Dr Wotton his brother. And all these we will to be our executors, and counsellors of the Privy Council with our said son, Prince Edward, in all matters, both concerning his private affairs, and the public affairs of the realm; willing and charging them, and every of them, as they must and shall answer at the day of judgment, truly[5] and fully to see this my last will and testament performed in all things, with as much speed and diligence as may be; and that none of them presume to meddle with any of our treasure, or to do any thing appointed

1 F. ed. Br. 2 F. ed. Br. 3 "performances," edd. Heyl.
4 Edd. "knight," "gentleman."
5 F. ed. Br. R.; "wholly," F. folio and edd. Heyl.

Will of Henry VIII.

by our said will, alone, unless the most part of the whole number of the co-executors do consent, and by writing agree to the same; and [we][1] will that our said executors, or the most part of them, may lawfully do what they shall think most convenient for the execution of this our will, without being troubled by our said son or any other for the same."

After which, having taken order about the payment of his debts, he proceeds as followeth:

"Further, according to the laws of Almighty God, and for the fatherly love which we bear to our son, Prince Edward, and this our realm, we declare him, according to justice, equity, and conscience, to be our lawful heir; and do give, and bequeath unto him the succession of our realms of England and Ireland, with our title of France, and all our dominions, both on this side the seas and beyond: a convenient portion for our will and testament to be reserved. Also we give unto him all our plate, stuff of household, artillery, ordnance, ammunition, ships, cables and all other things and implements to them belonging, and money also, and jewels; saving such portions as shall satisfy this our last will and testament: charging and commanding him on pain of our curse, (seeing he hath so loving a father of us, and that our chief labour and study in this world is to establish him in the crown imperial of this realm, after our decease, in such sort as may be pleasing to God, and to the wealth[2] of this realm, [and to his own honour and quiet,][3]) that he be ordered and ruled, both in his marriage, and also in ordering the affairs of the realm, as well outward as inward, and also in all his own private affairs, and in giving of offices of charge, by the advice and counsel of our right entirely beloved counsellors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Wriothesley, Chancellor of England, the Lord St John, Great Master of our House[4], the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Hartford, Great Chamberlain of England, the Viscount Lisle, High Admiral of England, the Bishop Tonstal, of Duresme, Sir Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of our Horses, Sir William Paget, our Chief Secretary, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, Justice Montague and Bromley, Sir Edward Wotton, Mr Doctor Wotton, and Sir

[1] F. ed. Br. [2] "health," edd. Heyl. [3] F. R.

[4] F. R.; "master of our horse," edd. 1, 2; "great master of our horses," ed. 3.

Edward North; whom we ordain, name, and appoint, and by these presents signed with our hand, do make and constitute our Privy Council with our said son, and will that they have the governance of our most dear son, Prince Edward, and of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and of all the affairs, public and private, until he shall have fully completed the eighteenth year of his age. Will of Henry VIII.

"And for because the variety and number of things, affairs, and matters, are, and may be, such as we, not knowing the certainty of them before, cannot conveniently prescribe a certain order or rule unto our said counsellors, for their behaviours and proceedings in this charge which we have now and do appoint unto them about our said son, during the time of his minority
27 aforesaid: we therefore, for the special trust and confidence which we have in them, will, and by these presents do give and grant full power and authority unto our said counsellors, that they all, or the most part of them, being assembled together in council, or, if any of them fortune to die, the more part of them which shall be for the time living, being assembled in council together, shall and may make, devise, and ordain, whatsoever things they, or the more part of them, as aforesaid, shall, during the minority of our said son, think meet, necessary, and[1] convenient for the benefit, honour, and surety of the weal, profit, and commodity of our said son, his realms, dominions, or subjects, or the discharge of our conscience. And the same things made, ordained, and devised by them, or the more part of them, as aforesaid, shall and may lawfully do, execute, and accomplish, or cause to be done, executed or accomplished, by their discretions, or the discretions of the more part of them, as aforesaid, in as large and ample manner as if we had or did express unto them, by a more special commission under our great seal of England, every particular cause that may chance or occur during the time of our said son's minority, and the self-same manner of proceeding which they shall from time to time[2] think meet to use and follow: willing and charging our said son, and all others which shall hereafter be counsellors to our said son, that they never charge, molest, trouble, or disquiet our aforesaid counsellors, nor any of them,

[1] "or," R. and B.

[2] "for the time," F. fol. and R.; "for the same time," F. ed. Br.

Will of Henry VIII.

for the devising or doing, nor any other person or persons, for doing that they shall devise, or the more part of them devise, or do, assembled as is aforesaid.

"And we do charge expressly the same our entirely beloved counsellors and executors, that they shall take upon them the rule and charge of our said son and heir, in all his causes and affairs, and of the whole realm; doing nevertheless all things as under him, and in his name, until our said son and heir shall be bestowed and married[1] by their advice, and that the eighteenth year be expired. Willing and desiring furthermore our said trusty counsellors, and then all our trusty and assured servants, and thirdly, all other our loving subjects, to aid and assist our forenamed counsellors in the execution of the premises during the aforesaid time; not doubting but that they will in all things deal so truly and uprightly as they shall have cause to think them well chosen for the charge committed unto them: straitly charging our said counsellors and executors, and in God's name exhorting them, for the singular trust and special confidence which we have and ever had in them, to have a due [and][2] diligent eye, perfect zeal, love, and affection, to the honour, surety, estate, and dignity of our said son, and the good state and prosperity of this our realm; and that, all delays set apart, they will aid and assist our said counsellors and executors to the performance of this our present testament and last will, in every part, as they will answer before God at the day of judgment, *cum venerit judicare vivos et mortuos.*

"And furthermore, for the special trust and confidence which we have in the Earls of Arundel and Essex that now be, Sir Thomas Cheney, Knight, Treasurer of our Household, Sir John Gage, Knight, Comptroller of our Household, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Knight, our Vice-chamberlain, Sir William Petre, Knight, one of our two Principal Secretaries, Sir Richard Rich, Knight, Sir John Baker, Knight, Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight, Sir Thomas Seimour, Knight, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmond Peckham, Knights: they and every of them shall be of council for the aiding and assisting of the forenamed counsellors and our executors, when they or

[1] "bestowed in marriage," F. ed. Br. [2] F. R.

any of them shall be called by our said executors, or the more part of the same.

28 "*Item*, we bequeath to our daughters', Mary's and Elizabeth's, marriage, they being married to any outward potentate by the advice of the aforesaid counsellors (if we bestow them not in our lifetime) ten thousand pounds in money, plate, jewels, and household-stuff, for each of them; or a larger sum as to the discretion of our executors, or the more part of them, shall be thought convenient; willing them on my blessing to be ordered, as well in marriage, as in all other lawful things, by the advice of our forenamed counsellors: and, in case they will not, then the sum to be minished at the counsellors' discretion. And our further will is, that from the first hour of our death until such time as the said counsellors can provide either of them, or both, some honourable marriages, they shall have, each of them, £3000, *ultra reprisas*, to live upon; willing, and charging the aforesaid counsellors to limit and appoint to either of them such sage[1] officers and ministers, for orderance thereof, as [it][2] may be employed both to our honour, and theirs. And for the great love, obedience, and chasteness of life, and wisdom, being in our forenamed wife and Queen, we bequeath unto her, for her proper use, and as it shall please her to order it, £3000 in plate, jewels, and stuff of household, besides such apparel, as it shall please her to take, [of such][2] as she hath already: and further we give unto her £1000 in money, with the enjoying of her dowry and jointure, according to our grant by act of parliament."

Which said, he bequeathed, in other legacies, amongst the Lords of his Council, and other of his principal officers, whom he had declared for his executors, the sum of £6433. 6*s*. 8*d*. And amongst other Knights and gentlemen, his domestic servants, and such as were in ordinary attendance about the court, (under which style I find that Patrick, before remembered[3]) the sum of £5083. 6*s*. 8*d*. Both sums amounting in the total to £11,516. 13*s*. 4*d*. And so concludeth with a revocation of all other wills and testaments by him formerly made, that only this might stand in force and be effectual,

[1] "said," edd. Heyl. [2] F. R. [3] §. 27.

Will of Henry VIII.

to all intents and purposes in the law whatsoever. Dated 30th December, signed with his own hand[1], and witnessed by eleven of such of his physicians and attendants as were then about him.

43. Such was the last will and testament of this puissant Prince. Of which how little was performed, and how much less should have been performed, if some great persons, whom he had nominated for his executors, might have had their wills, we shall hereafter shew in fit time and place[2]. In the

[1] This has, however, been denied; and there are two questions in the matter: (1) Was the will signed by Henry, or was the signature affixed by means of the stamp used during his last illness? (2) If stamped, was the stamp affixed by the King's order? . . . . Maitland of Lethington asserted, in a letter to Cecil, that when the King's death was approaching, "some, as well known to you as to me, caused William Clarke" to sign the will with a stamp. This story, brought forward in the most open manner, and said to be grounded on an attestation of Lord Paget in parliament, received no contradiction at the time. And it is confirmed, in so far as regards the fact of the stamping (while it is contradicted in other respects), by a list of instruments stamped in January, drawn up by Clarke himself, and addressed to Henry. He mentions several witnesses, and adds "which testament your majesty delivered then in our sights, with your own hand, to the said Earl of Hertford, as your own deed."—(State Papers, Hen. VIII. i. 898.) On the other hand, Mr Hallam and others who have seen the will, inform us that the signature is unlike those which are known to have been made by means of the stamp, and that it is evidently not the impression of any stamp, as there are marks of a pen, and the strokes are tremulously drawn. (See Burnet, i. ii. 405; Hallam, i. 284-5; Brewer's note in Fuller, iii. 213.) Perhaps the seemingly opposite statements as to the signature may not be irreconcilable. We know that the manner in which deeds were signed during Henry's last illness was by making a *blank* impression of the stamp, which was afterwards filled up with ink; may not something of this kind have been done in the case of the will? May we not suppose that the stamp was applied, perhaps as a guide for the King's pen, and that his trembling strokes were made in an effort to follow it?

[2] "The alterations in religion, which immediately followed, made part of the King's will insignificant. The court did not believe any applications of the living could be serviceable for the dead; and thus the masses, obits, and charities, designed to relieve him in the other world, were dropped, notwithstanding his solemn charge to the contrary. Sanders will have this a judicial misfortune upon King Henry, for defeating the wills of so many founders of chantries and religious houses."—Collier, v. 183.

Funeral of Henry VIII.

mean season we will see him laid into his grave; which was done with as much convenient speed as the necessary preparations for a royal funeral could of right admit. For on the fourteenth day of February then next following, his body, being removed in a solemn and magnificent manner to Shene, near Richmond, was the next day with like solemnity attended to his castle of Windsor, (one of the goodliest and most gallant seats of the Christian world), and there interred in a vault prepared for himself and his dear wife, Queen Jane; as in his last will he had desired. For though a most magnificent and costly tomb had been begun for him by Cardinal Wolsie, in a by-chapel of that church, (commonly called, the Chapel of King Henry the Eighth;) yet being an unfinished piece[1], and the King having other ways disposed of his own interment, a vault was opened for him in the midst of the quire. Into which the body of the King was no sooner laid, but all his officers brake their staves, and threw them into the grave, (according to the usual ceremonies on the like occasions), receiving new ones the next day at the hands of his son[2]. Nor were the funeral rites performed by his
29 own subjects only; but a solemn obsequy was kept for him, in the church of Nostre Dame in Paris, by King Francis the First, notwithstanding that he had been excommunicated by the Popes of Rome. So much that generous Prince preferred his old affections to this King for former favours, not only above the late displeasures conceived against him for the taking of Bulloign, but even above the Pope's curse, and all the fulminations of the court of Rome which might follow on it. But long it will not be, before we shall discharge this debt, in paying the like duty to the honour of Francis; who, dying on the two and twentieth day[3] of March next following, had here an obsequy as solemn as the times could give him. Of which more hereafter[4].

[1] Fuller, iii. 231.

[2] Edw. Journal, in Burnet, II. ii. 4; Hayward, 275. A full account of Henry's funeral, from documents in the Heralds' Office, is printed by Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. Append. A.

[3] March 31.—Robertson, Hist. of Charles V. ii. 293, ed. Oxford, 1825; Thuan. Hist. l. iii. c. 6. (t. i. p. 105).

[4] Edw. i. 17.

THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

ANNO REG. 1, ANNO DOM. 1546, 1547.

Accession of Edward.

1. HENRY being dead, Edward, his only surviving son, at the age of nine years, three months, and sixteen days, by the name of King Edward the Sixth, succeeds his father in the throne: Charles the Fifth being then Emperor of Germany and King of Spain; Francis of Angolesme, (the last branch of the royal line of Valoys), King of the French; and Paul the Third (of the noble house of the Farnezi) presiding in the Church of Rome. No sooner was his father dead[1], but Edward, Earl of Hartford, and Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse, were by the rest of the council dispatched in haste to Hartford Castle, where at that time he kept his court, accompanied with his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, about four years elder than himself. Both whom they brought the next day as far as Enfield, where they imparted to them the sad news of the King's decease—re- 31
ceived by both with such a measure of true sorrow, that it was very hard to say whether their tears did more obscure or set forth their beauties. The next day advancing towards London, where he was proclaimed King with all due solemnities, he made his royal entry into the Tower on the last of January[2]. Into which he was conducted by Sir John Gage, as the constable of it, and there received by all the Lords of the Council; who, with great duty and affection, did attend his comings, and waiting on him into the Chamber of Presence, did very cheerfully swear allegiance to him[3]. The next day,

[1] Although Henry's death took place at 2 A.M. on Jan. 28, it was not publicly made known until the 31st.—Tytler, Edw. and Mary, i. 14.

[2] Hayward, 275.

[3] Stow, 593.

by the general consent of all the council, the Earl of Hartford, the King's uncle, was chosen governor of his person and protector of his kingdoms, till he should come unto the age of eighteen years, and was proclaimed for such in all parts of London:—esteemed most fit for this high office, in regard that he was the King's uncle by the mother's side; very near unto him in blood, but yet of no capacity to succeed in the crown; by reason whereof, his natural affection and duty was less easy to be over-carried by ambition[1]. Upon which ground of civil prudence, it was both piously and prudently ordained by Solon, in the state of Athens, "that no man should be made the guardian unto any orphan, to whom the inheritance might fall by the death of his ward[2]." For the first handselling of his office, he knighted the young King, on the sixth of February: who, being now in a capacity of conferring that order, bestowed it first on Henry Hobblethorn, Lord Mayor of London, and presently after on Mr William Portman, one of the justices of the bench,—being both dubbed with the same sword with which he had received the order of knighthood at the hands of his uncle[3].

An. Reg. 1, 1546—7.

The Earl of Hertford appointed Protector.

2. These first solemnities being thus passed over, the next care was for the interment of the old King, and the coronation of the new. In order to which last, it was thought expedient to advance some confidents and principal ministers of state to higher dignities and titles than before they had; the better to oblige them to a care of the state, the safety of the King's person, and the preservation of the power of the Lord Protector, who chiefly moved in the design. Yet so far did self-interest prevail above all other obligations and ties of state, that some of these men thus advanced proved his greatest enemies: the rest forsaking him, when he had most need to make use of their friendship. In the first place, having resigned the office of Lord High Chamberlain, he caused himself to be created Lord Seimour, and Duke of Somerset. Which last

New Peerages and appointments.

[1] Hayward, 275.

[2] "Ne quis fieret curator, ad quem post pupillorum obitum spectaret hæreditas."—Diog. Laert. in Vita Solonis, p. 38. *Author.* [*μηδ' ἐπιτροπεύειν, εἰς ὃν ἡ οὐσία ἔρχεται, τῶν ὀρφανῶν τελευτησάντων.*—Lib. i. p. 14, ed. Lond. 1664.]

[3] Stow, 593.

An. Reg. 1, 1546—7. title,—(appertaining to the King's progenitors of the house of Lancaster, and, since the expiring of the Beauforts[1], conferred on none, but Henry, the natural son of the King deceased,)—was afterwards charged upon him as an argument of his aspiring to the crown; which past all doubt he never aimed at. His own turn being thus unhappily served, the Lord William Parr, brother of Queen Katharine Parr, the relict of the King deceased,—(who formerly, in the thirty-fifth of the said King's reign, had been created Earl of Essex, with reference to Ann his wife, daughter and heir of Henry Bourchier, the last Earl of Essex of that house,)—was now made Marquess of Northampton, in reference to her extraction from the Bohunes, once the Earls thereof[2]. John Dudley, Viscount Lisle[3], and Knight of the Garter, having resigned his office of Lord Admiral, to gratify the Lord Protector, (who desired to confer that place of power and trust on his younger brother,) was, in exchange, created Lord High Chamberlain of England, and Earl of Warwick. Which title he affected in regard of his descent from the Beauchamps, who for long time had worn that honour: from whom he also did derive the title of Viscount Lisle; as being the son of Edmond Sutton, alias Dudley, and of Elizabeth his wife, sister and heir of John Gray, Viscount Lisle, descended[4], by the Lord John Talbot, Viscount Lisle, from Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Dame Elizabeth his wife, the direct heir of Waren Lord Lisle, the last of the male issue of that noble family. In the next place comes Sir Thomas Wriothesley, a man of a very new nobility; as being son of William Wriothesley, and 32
grandchild of John Wriothesley—both of them, in their times, advanced no higher than to the office of an herald; the father by the title of York, the grandfather by that of Garter King of

[1] The honours of this family were lost by the attainder of Henry de Beaufort, beheaded in 1463. If, as some say, they were restored to his brother, Edmund, they were again lost by *his* attainder, 1471. Heylyn has overlooked the fact that Edmund, third son of Henry VII., was Duke of Somerset from 1496 to 1499, when he died *infans.*—Nicolas, Synopsis of the Peerage, 593.

[2] Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 380. The Marquess died without issue, 1571.

[3] Heylyn sometimes writes this title *L'isle.*

[4] Dugdale, ii. 218.

Arms[1]. But this man, being planted in a warmer sun, grew up so fast in the esteem of King Henry the Eighth, that he was first made Principal Secretary, afterwards created Baron of Tichfield, advanced not long after to the office of Lord Chancellor, and finally, by the said King, installed Knight of the Garter, anno 1545. For an addition to which honours, he was now dignified with the title of the Earl of Southampton, enjoyed to this day by his posterity[2]. An. Reg. 1, 1546–7.

3. These men being thus advanced to the highest titles, Sir Thomas Seimour, the new Lord Admiral, is honoured with the style of Lord Seimour of Sudeley, and in the beginning of the next year made Knight of the Garter—prepared by this accumulation of honours for his following marriage; which he had now projected, and soon after compassed. With no less ceremony, though not upon such lofty aims, Sir Richard Rich, (another of the twelve which were appointed for subsidiaries to the great council of estate by the King deceased,) was preferred unto the dignity of Lord Rich of Leez in Essex; the grandfather of that Robert Lord Rich, who by King James was dignified with the title of Earl of Warwick[3], anno 1618. In the third place came Sir William Willoughby, descended from a younger branch of the house of Eresby, created Lord Willoughby of Parham in the county of Suffolk[4]. And in the rear, Sir Edmond Sheffield, advanced unto the title of Lord Sheffield of Butterwick in the county of Lincoln; from whom the Earls of Moulgrave do derive themselves[5]. All which creations were performed with the accustomed solemnities on the seventeenth of February[6] and all given out to be designed by King Henry before his death[7], the better to take off the

[1] Dugdale, ii. 383.

[2] Extinct, 1677.—Nicolas, Synopsis, 590.

[3] Enjoyed by his descendants until 1759.—Nicolas, 679.

[4] Edd. "Sussex." The title became extinct in 1779.—Nicolas, 694.

[5] His representative was created Duke of Buckingham in 1703; the titles became extinct in 1735.—Nicolas, 450.

[6] It is remarkable that, of the eight peerages here mentioned as created on the accession of Edward, that of Somerset is the only one which now remains; and it, as has been already mentioned, (p. 5), has (1) been forfeited in 1551-2; (2) been restored in 1660; and (3) passed from the younger to the elder branch of the family in 1750.

[7] "It was ordered in the late King's will, that all grants, gifts, or

An. Reg. 1, 1546—7. envy from the Lord Protector, whom otherwise all understanding people must needs have thought to be too prodigal of those honours, of which the greatest Kings of England had been so sparing. For when great honours are conferred on persons of no great estates, it raiseth commonly a suspicion amongst the people, that either some proportionable revenue must be given them also, to the impoverishing of the King, or else some way left open for them to enrich themselves out of the purses of the subject.

The Coronation. 4. These preparations being dispatched, they next proceed unto the coronation of the King, performed with the accustomed rites on the twentieth of the same month by Archbishop Cranmer. The form whereof we find exemplified in a book, called "The Catalogue of Honour[1]," published by Thomas Mills of Canterbury, in the year 1610. In which there is nothing more observable, than this following passage. "The King (saith he) being brought unto the church of Saint Peter in Westminster, was placed in the chair of Saint Edward the Confessor, in the midst of a throne seven steps high. This throne was erected near unto the altar, upon a stage arising with steps on both sides, covered with carpets and hangings of arras. Where after the King had rested a little, being by certain noble courtiers carried in another chair unto the four sides of the stage, he was by the Archbishop of Canterbury declared unto the people, standing round about him, both by God's and man's laws to be the right and lawful King of England, France, and Ireland, and proclaimed that day to be crowned, consecrated, and anointed. Unto whom he 'demanded whether they would obey and serve, or not? By whom it was again, with a loud cry, answered, 'God save the King:' and, 'Ever live his Majesty[2]'." Which passage I the rather note,

promises made by him and not perfected, should be executed and performed. To satisfy this clause, Secretary Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, were required to declare their knowledge of the King's intention upon this head;" and the creations and appointments were said to be made in compliance with Henry's alleged directions.—Collier, v. 181. Comp. Stow, 594; Hayward, 275.

[1] pp. 54-59. The programme of the coronation, signed by the Council, is printed by Burnet, II. ii. 135. An account of it, from MSS. in the C. C. C. C. Library, is in Strype's Cranmer, 142-5.

[2] Mills, 57.

because it is observed, that, at the coronation of some former Kings, "the Archbishop went to the four squares of the scaffold, and with a loud voice asked the consent of the people." But this was at such times and in such cases only, when the Kings came unto the crown by disputed titles, for maintenance whereof the favour and consent of the people seemed a matter necessary—(as at the coronations of King Henry the Fourth, or King Richard the Third)—and not when it devolved upon them, as it did upon this King, by a right unquestioned. An. Reg. 1, 1546—7.

33 5. The coronation was accompanied, as the custom is, with a general pardon. But, as there never was a feast so great from which some men departed not with empty bellies, so, either out of envy, or some former grudge, or for some other cause unknown, six persons were excluded from the taste of this gracious banquet[1]: that is to say, the Lord Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, a condemned prisoner in the Tower; Edward Lord Courtney, eldest son to the late Marquess of Exeter beheaded in the last times of King Henry the Eighth[2]; Cardinal Pole, one of the sons of Margaret Countess of Salisbury, proscribed by the same King also; Doctor Richard Pate, declared Bishop of Worcester, in the place of Hierome de Nugaticis[3], in the year 1534, and by that name subscribing to some of the first acts of the Council of Trent: who, being sent to Rome on some public employment, chose rather to remain there in perpetual exile than to take the oath of supremacy at his coming home;—as by the laws he must have done, or otherwise have fared no better than the Bishop of Rochester[4], who A General Pardon, with six exceptions.

[1] Stow, 594; Hayward, 276. [2] Sup. p. 19.

[3] This is a mistake (perhaps not unintentional), for *De Nugutiis*, the form by which the Bishop's name, De Ghinucci, is latinised in Godwin, *De Præsulibus*. He had been much employed in diplomatic affairs by Henry, who, in a letter printed by Collier, ix. 101, of date A.D. 1532, requests that a Cardinal's hat might be conferred on him, and refers to a former application of the same purport. He was deprived of his bishoprick by an act of 25 Hen. (1534), on the ground of being an alien and non-resident: Cardinal Campeggio being by the same act deprived of Salisbury. Heylyn's statement as to Pates is taken from Godwin *De Præsul.* 470; but it would rather seem that the King at once filled up the see with Latimer, and that Pates was nominated by the Pope on the death of Ghinucci, which took place soon after. Pates was attainted in 1542.—See Burnet, II. 650; Jewel, ed. Jelf, vi. 219. [4] Fisher. See Mary, Introd. §. 15.

An. Reg. 1, 1546–7. lost his head on the refusal. Of the two others, Fortescue and Throgmorton, I have found nothing but the names[1]; and thereupon can but name them only. But they all lived to better times:—the Duke of Norfolk being restored by Queen Mary to his lands, liberty, and honours; as the Lord Courtney was to the Earldom of Devonshire, enjoyed by many of his noble progenitors; Cardinal Pole admitted first into the kingdom, in the capacity of a Legate from the Pope of Rome, and after Cranmer's death advanced to the See of Canterbury; and Dr Pate preferred unto the actual possession of the See of Worcester, of which he formerly had enjoyed no more but the empty title.

Movements towards a Reformation.

6. These great solemnities being thus passed over, the grandees of the court began to entertain some thoughts of a Reformation; in which they found Archbishop Cranmer and some other Bishops to be as forward as themselves, but on different ends:—endeavoured by the Bishops in a pious zeal for rectifying such things as were amiss in God's public worship: but by the courtiers on an hope to enrich themselves by the spoil of the Bishopricks. To the advancement of which work the conjuncture seemed as proper as they could desire. For, first, the King, being of such tender age, and wholly governed by the will of the Lord Protector, who had declared himself a friend to the Lutheran party in the time of King Henry, was easy to be moulded into any form which the authority of power and reason could imprint upon him. The Lord Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and Doctor Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, (who formerly had been the greatest sticklers at the council-table in maintenance of the religion of the Church of Rome), were not long able to support it:—the

[1] Fortescue was probably a Devonshire gentleman, connected with the party of the Poles. A Sir Adrian Fortescue was attainted with the Countess of Salisbury, 1539, and beheaded in that year.—Stow, 576-7. A Fortescue was also implicated in a conspiracy in the Pole interest under Elizabeth.—Eliz. iv. 14. Throgmorton may possibly have been the same who, in the next reign, rose against the Spanish match. One of the name also figured in Dudley's conspiracy (Mary, iii. 34). Thus the Throgmortons appear to have been in the interest of the Courtenay family, who were at this time obnoxious to the government of Edward, as afterwards their name was used in opposition to that of Mary.

one of them being a condemned prisoner in the Tower, as before was said; and the other, upon some just displeasure, not named by King Henry amongst the counsellors of state, who were to have the managing of affairs in his son's minority[1]. Bonner, then Bishop of London, was absent at that time in the court of the Emperor, to whom he had been sent Ambassador by the former King. And no professed champion for the Papacy remained amongst them, of whom they had cause to stand in doubt, but the new Earl of Southampton; whom, when they were not able to remove from his old opinions, it was resolved to make him less both in power and credit, so that he should not be able to hinder the pursuit of those counsels which he was not willing to promote. And therefore, on the sixth of March, the great seal was taken from him by the King's command, and for a while committed to the custody of Sir William Pawlet[2], created Lord St John of Basing and made Great Master of the Household by King Henry the Eighth. An. Reg. 1, 1546—7.

7. And on the other side it was thought expedient, for the better carrying on of the design, not only to release all such as had been committed unto prison, but also to recall all such as had been forced to abandon the kingdom for not submitting to the superstitions and corruptions of the Church of Rome. Great were the numbers of the first, who had their
34 fetters strucken off by this merciful Prince, and were permitted to enjoy that liberty of conscience for which they had suffered all extremities in his father's time. Only it is observed of one Thomas Dobbs, once Fellow of St John's College, in Cambridge, —condemned for speaking against the mass, and thereupon committed to the Counter in Bread Street,—that he alone did take a view of this land of Canaan, into which he was not

[1] Fox reports that Sir Antony Browne, as a friend of Gardiner, remarked on the omission of the Bishop's name, professing to suppose it accidental.—"'Hold your peace,' quoth the king, 'I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out; for surely if he were in my testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature.'" Fox, ii. 647, ed. 1631.

[2] Hayward, 276. The seal was committed to Paulet for one stated term after another—this being the only instance of the kind.—Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, ii. 4.

An. Reg. 1, 1546—7. suffered to enter; it being so ordered by the Divine Providence that he died in prison, before his pardon could be signed by the Lord Protector[1]. Amongst the rest, which were in number very many, those of chief note were, Doctor Miles Coverdale, after Bishop of Exeter; Mr John Hooper, after Bishop of Glocester; Mr John Philpot, after Archdeacon of Winchester; Mr John Rogers, after one of the Prebends of St Paul's; and many others, eminent for their zeal and piety, which they declared by preferring a good conscience before their lives, in the time of Queen Mary[2].

A Visitation, by royal authority.

8. But the business was of greater moment than to expect the coming back of the learned men; who, though they came not time enough to begin the work, yet did they prove exceeding serviceable in the furtherance of it. And therefore, neither to lose time, nor to press too much at once upon the people, it was thought fit to smoothe the way to the intended Reformation, by setting out some preparatory Injunctions; such as the King might publish by his own authority, according to the example of his royal father in the year 1536, and at some times after[3]. This to be done by sending out Commissioners into all parts of the kingdom, armed with instructions to inquire into all ecclesiastical concerments, in the manner of a Visitation; directed by the King, as supreme head on earth of the Church of England[4]. Which Commissioners, being distributed into several circuits, were accompanied with certain learned and godly preachers, appointed to instruct the people, and to facilitate the work of the Commissioners, in all towns and places where they sat. And, that the people might not cool or fall off again, in and from that which had been taught them by the learned preachers, they were to leave some Homilies[5] to the

[1] Fox, v. 704; Fuller, iv. 8.
[2] Fuller, iv. 9.
[3] Sup. p. 11.
[4] Burnet, II. ii. 149.
[5] Holinshed, iii. 867; Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 505. On the authorship of the Homilies, see Jenkyns, Cranmer, Pref. xlvi. and i. 121, 138. The Homilies on Salvation, Faith, and Good Works, are confidently ascribed to Cranmer. Those on the Fear of Death and on the Reading of Scripture have also been supposed to be his. That on the Misery of Mankind, sometimes attributed to Cranmer, appears in Bonner's volume of Homilies, A. D. 1555, with the name of "Jo. Harpesfield" attached to it. (Note on Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 129.) Dr Wordsworth (Eccl. Biog. iii. 188) supposes, from the internal evidence,

same effect with the parish-priest: which the Archbishop had composed, not only for the help of unpreaching ministers, but for the regulating and instructing even of learned preachers. Which Injunctions being agreed upon by such of the great council as favoured the design of the Reformation; and the Commissions drawn in due form of law by the council learned:—they were all tendered to the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, that the authority of the great seal might be added to them. Which he, who was not to be told what these matters aimed at, refused to give consent unto; and so lost the seal[1],—committed, (as before is said), to the custody of the Lord Great Master, by whom the said Commissioners were dispatched, and the visitors thereby authorised in due form of law. And here it is to be observed, that, besides the points contained in the said Injunctions, the preachers above mentioned were more particularly instructed to persuade the people from praying to the saints, from making prayers for the dead, from adoring of images, from the use of beads, ashes, and processions, from mass, diriges, praying in unknown languages, and from some other such-like things, whereunto long custom had brought a religious observation[2]. All which was done to this intent; that the people in all places, being prepared by little and little, might with more ease, and less opposition, admit the total alteration in the face of the Church, which was intended in due time to be introduced. An. Reg. 1, 1546—7.

9. Now, as for the Injunctions above mentioned, although I might exemplify them as they stand at large in the first edition of the Acts and Monuments (fol. 684[3]), yet I shall choose rather to present them in a smoother abstract, as it The Injunctions.

that Latimer was the author of the Sermon against Strife and Contention. That on Adultery is by Becon, among whose works it is printed.

[1] The pretext for his deprivation is misstated by Heylyn. Wriothesley, intending to devote himself to politics, had signed a commission by which his judicial functions were delegated to certain persons. This was pronounced illegal by the judges, and became a ground for the council's proceedings against him.—Burnet, II. 31, and ii. 139; Campbell, i. 607.

[2] Stow, 594.

[3] Fox, v. 706. They have been frequently reprinted—as in Sparrow's Collection, Wilkins' Concilia, and Cardwell's Documentary Annals.

An. Reg. 1, 1546—7. is done unto my hand by the Church-historian[1]: the method of them only altered in this manner following:

I. That all ecclesiastical persons observe, and cause to be observed, the laws for the abolishing the pretended and usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, and confirmation of the King's authority and supremacy: and four times in the year, at the least, that they teach the people, that the one was now justly taken away, according to the Word of God, and that the other was, of most legal duty, only to be obeyed by all the subjects.

II. That once a quarter, at the least, they sincerely declare the Word of God, dissuading the people from superstitious fancies of pilgrimages, praying to images, &c., exhorting them to the works of faith, mercy, and charity. III. And that images, abused with pilgrimages and offerings thereunto, be forthwith taken down and destroyed, and that no more wax-candles or tapers be burnt before any image; but only two lights upon the high altar, before the Sacrament, shall remain still, to signify that Christ is the very Light of the world.

IV. That every holy-day, when they have no sermon, the Pater-Noster, Credo, and Ten Commandments shall be plainly recited in the pulpit to the parishioners.

V. And that parents and masters bestow their children and servants either to learning or some honest occupation.

VII. That, within three months after this Visitation, the Bible, of the larger[2] volume, in English; and within twelve months Erasmus his Paraphrases on the Gospels, be provided, and conveniently placed in the church, for the people to read therein. XX. And that every ecclesiastical person, under the degree of a Bachelor of Divinity, shall, within three months after this Visitation, provide of his own the New Testament in Latin and English, with Erasmus his Paraphrases thereon. And that Bishops, by themselves and their officers, shall examine them how much they have profited in the study of holy Scripture.

VI. That such who, in cases expressed in the statute, are absent from their benefices, leave learned and expert curates to supply their places. XIV. That all such ecclesiastical persons, not resident upon their benefices, and able to dispend yearly

[1] Fuller, iv. 10-18. [2] "largest."

£20, and above, shall, in the presence of the Church-wardens or some other honest men, distribute the fortieth part of their revenues amongst the poor of the parish. XV. And that every ecclesiastical person shall give competent exhibition to so many scholars in one of the universities, as they have hundred pounds a-year in church-promotions. An. Reg 1, 1546—7.

XVI. That a fifth part of their benefices be bestowed on their mansion-houses or chancels, till they be fully repaired. VIII. And that no ecclesiastical persons haunt ale-houses, or taverns, or any place of unlawful gaming.

IX. That they examine such as come to confession in Lent, whether they can recite their Credo, Pater-Noster, and Ten Commandments in English, before they receive the blessed Sacrament of the altar; or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board.

X. That none be admitted to preach, except sufficiently licensed[1]. XI. That, if they have heretofore extolled pilgrimages, reliques, worshipping of images, &c.[2] they now openly recant, and reprove the same, as a common error, groundless in Scripture. XII. That they detect and present such who are letters of the Word of God in English, and fautors of the Bishop of Rome his pretended power.

XIX. That no person from henceforth shall alter any fasting-day, or manner of Common Prayer, or Divine Service, (otherwise than is specified in these Injunctions), until otherwise ordered by the King's authority. XXI. And that, in the time of high mass, he that sayeth or singeth the same[3] shall read the Epistle and Gospel in English, and one chapter in the New Testament at Matins, and another at Even-song[4]; and that, when nine lessons are to be read in the church, three of them shall be omitted, with responds; and at the

[1] i. e. that the clergy shall not admit to preach within their cures any but such as shall appear unto them to be sufficiently licensed by the King, the Protector, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, within his province, or the Bishop of the Diocese.

[2] "Lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition."

[3] Edd. "singeth a psalm." The error is copied from Fuller, whose latest editor, Mr Brewer, has retained it.

[4] The chapter at evensong was to be from the *Old* Testament.

An. Reg. 1, 1546—7. Even-song, the responds with all the memories[1]. By which last word I understand the anniversary commemoration of deceased persons on the day of their deaths, which frequently were expressed by the name *Obits*.

XXVI. That every Dean, Archdeacon, &c. being a priest, preach by himself, personally, [twice] every year at least. XXVII. That they instruct their people not obstinately to violate the ceremonies of the Church, by the King commanded to be observed, and not as yet abrogated; and, on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great peril of his soul's health. 36
XXV. And that no curate admit to the Communion such who are in rancour and malice with their neighbours, till such controversies be reconciled.

XXIII. That, to avoid contentions and strife which heretofore have risen amongst the King's subjects, by challenging of places in procession, no procession hereafter be used about the church, or churchyard: but immediately before high mass, the Litany shall be distinctly sung or said in English; none departing the church without just cause[2], and all ringing of bells (save one) utterly forborne.

[1] The order for reading chapters in English applied to Sundays and holy-days. Every Sunday belonged to one or other of the classes of days for which nine lessons are appointed (Gavanti Thes. Sacrorum Rituum, ii. 24-26, ed. Aug. Vind. 1763); and the omission of a part of the service was intended to make way for the newly-introduced reading of Scripture in English. Heylyn (like Fuller who preceded him, and Collier who follows him) is unfortunate in the interpretation of the word *memories*. "Commemorationes," says Merati, "sunt duplicis generis, nempe *speciales* et *communes*. Speciales consistunt in his antiphonis, versibus, et orationibus, quæ ratione alterius festi aut officii occurrentis, vel concurrentis, orationi festi aut diei currentis sunt superaddendæ. Communes (quæ alio nomine *Suffragia Sanctorum*, a majori illorum parte desumpta denominatione dicuntur,) sunt illæ quæ, una cum suis antiphonis et versibus, exstant in Psalterio post vesperas Sabbati; fiuntque in fine vesperarum et laudum post orationem officii currentis, et post antedictas commemorationes speciales, si quæ fieri debent, &c." (Gav. Thes. ii. 73.) The language of the injunction would seem to apply to the special commemorations (when there were such), as well as to the *suffragia sanctorum*.

[2] The Order against leaving the Church applies to the time of the mass, the sermon, and the scriptural reading, as well as to that of the

XXVIII. That they take away and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindils, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, so that no memory of them remain in walls or windows; exhorting their parishioners to do the like in their several houses. An. Reg. 1, 1546—7.

XXIV. That the holy-day, at the first beginning godly instituted and ordained, be wholly given to God, in hearing the Word of God read and taught, in private and public prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment, in reconciling themselves to their neighbours, receiving the Communion, visiting the sick, &c. Only it shall be lawful for them, in time of harvest, to labour upon holy and festival days[1], and save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity, to abstain from working upon those days, doth grievously offend God.

XIII. That a register-book be carefully kept in every parish for weddings, christenings, and burials. XXIX. That a strong chest, with an hole in the upper part thereof, (with three keys thereunto belonging), be provided to receive the charity of the people to the poor; and the same, at convenient times, be distributed unto them in the presence of the parish. And that a comely pulpit be provided, in a convenient place[2].

XXXII. That, because of the lack of preachers[3], curates shall read homilies, which are or shall be set forth by the King's authority. XXXVI. That, when any such sermon or homily shall be had, the primes and hours shall be omitted. XVIII. That none bound to pay tithes detain them, by colour of duty omitted by their curates, and so redoub one wrong with another. XXXIII. And whereas many indiscreet persons do uncharitably contemn[4] and abuse priests having small learning, his Majesty chargeth his subjects, that

litany. The bell which was allowed was one "in convenient time to be rung or knolled before the sermon." See Harrison's "Historical Inquiry into the Rubric," p. 46; and L'Estrange's Alliance, p. 238, ed. Anglo-cath. Lib. Oxf. 1846.

[1] See below, §. 13.

[2] This clause belongs to No. XXVIII.

[3] For information on the history of Preachers, see Harrison on the Rubric, ch. i.; Haweis, "Sketches of the Reformation," ch. v.

[4] Edd. "condemn."

An. Reg. 1, 1546—7. from henceforth they be reverently used, for their office and ministration sake. XXXI. And that, to avoid the detestable sin of simony, the seller shall lose his right of patronage for that time, and the buyer to be deprived, and made unable to receive spiritual promotion.

XXII. That, to prevent sick persons in the damnable vice of despair, they shall learn, and have always in readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture as do set forth the mercies, benefits, and goodness of God Almighty towards all penitent and believing persons. XXX. But that priests be not bound to go visit women in child-bed, except in times of dangerous sickness; and not to fetch any corse, except it be brought to the churchyard[1]. XXXIV. That all persons not understanding Latin, shall pray on no other primer but what lately was set forth in English by King Henry the Eighth; and that such, who have knowledge in the Latin use no other also[2]; that all graces before and after meat be said in English; and no grammar taught in schools, but that which is set forth by authority[3]. XXXV. That chantry-priests teach youth to read and write.

XVII. And finally, that these Injunctions be read once a quarter.

Injunctions for the Bishops.

10. Besides these general Injunctions for the whole estate of the realm, there were also certain others, particularly appointed for the Bishops only[4]; which, being delivered unto the Commissioners, were likewise by them in their Visitations committed unto the said Bishops, with charge to be inviolably observed and kept, upon pain of the King's majesty's displeasure: the effect whereof is as in manner followeth: 37

[1] The object of this order appears to be that the Priest may not be drawn away "upon the holy-days" by such more private duties from attending to "the common administration of the whole parish."

[2] "And all those which have knowledge of the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Latin primer, but upon that which is likewise set forth by the said authority."—Wilkins, iv. 8. On the history of Primers, see the Introduction to Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia, vol. ii.

[3] "The grammar usually known by the name of 'Lily's,' but the different parts of which appear to have been derived from such eminent contributors as Wolsey, Colet, Lily, and Erasmus."—Note in Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 20. Cf. Fuller, Appeal, p. 455.

[4] Acts and Mon. fol. 1182. *Author.* [= Vol. v. p. 713.]

(1) That they should, to the utmost of their power, wit, and understanding, see and cause all and singular the King's Injunctions, heretofore given, or after to be given, from time to time, in and through their diocese, duly, faithfully, and truly to be kept, observed, and accomplished. And that they should personally preach within their diocese, every quarter of a year, once at the least: that is to say, once in their cathedral churches, and thrice in other several places of their dioceses, whereas they should see it most convenient and necessary; except they had a reasonable excuse to the contrary. Likewise, that they should not retain into their service or household, any chaplain, but such as were learned, and able to preach the Word of God, and those they should also cause to exercise the same. An. Reg. 1, 1546—7.

(2) And secondly, that they should not give orders to any person but such as were learned in holy Scripture: neither should deny them to such as were learned in the same, being of honest conversation or living. And, lastly, that they should not at any time or place preach or set forth unto the people any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and intent contained or set forth in the King's highness's Homilies: neither yet should admit or give licence to preach to any within their diocese, but to such as they should know (or at least assuredly trust) would do the same: and, if at any time, by hearing or by report proved, they should perceive the contrary; they should then incontinent not only inhibit that person so offending, but also punish him, and revoke their licence.

11. There was also a form of Bidding Prayer[1] prescribed by the Visitors, to be used by all preachers in the realm, either before or in their sermons, as to them seemed best. Which form of Bidding Prayer (or Bidding of the Beads, as it was then commonly called) was this, that followeth: Form of Bidding Prayer.

"You shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's Church, and specially for this Church of England and Ireland:

[1] This form was part of the general Injunctions.—Fuller, iv. 17. On the history of Bidding Prayer, see Heylyn's Ecclesia Vindicata (Tracts, fol. Lond. 1681); Pamphlets by Hilliard (1715), and Wheatley (1718, reprinted 1845); Cox's "Forms of Bidding Prayer;" "How shall we conform to the Liturgy?" by the editor of this work, second edition, pp. 173-185; Harrison's "Inquiry into the Rubric," pp. 190-228.

An. Reg. 1, 1546—7. wherein first I commend to your devout prayers the King's most excellent majesty, supreme head immediately under God of the spirituality and temporality of the same Church: and for Queen Catharine, dowager, and also for my lady Mary and my lady Elizabeth, the King's sisters.

"Secondly, you shall pray for my Lord Protector's grace, with all the rest of the King's majesty his council; for all the lords of this[1] realm, and for the clergy and for the commons of the same: beseeching God Almighty to give every of them, in his degree, grace to use themselves in such wise as may be to God's glory, the King's honour, and the weal of this realm.

"Thirdly, you shall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ; that they with us, and we with them, at the day of judgment, may rest, both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven."

12. Such were the Orders and Injunctions wherewith the King's Commissioners were furnished for their Visitation—most of them such as had been formerly given out by Cromwell, or otherwise published and pursued, (but not without some intermissions), by the King deceased, and therefore to be put in execution with greater safety. For though the young King, by reason of his tender age, could not but want a great proportion of his father's spirit for carrying on a work of such weight and moment, yet he wanted nothing of that power in church-concernment, which either naturally was inherent in the crown imperial, or had been legally vested in it by acts of 38
parliament. Neither could his being in minority, nor the writings in his name by the Lord Protector and the rest of the council, make any such difference in the case, as to invalidate the proceedings, or any of the rest which followed in the Reformation. For, if they did, the objection would be altogether as strong against the reformation made in the minority of King Josias, as against this, in the minority of the present King: that of Josias being made, (as Josephus[2] telleth us), by the advice of the elders; as this of King Edward the Sixth by the advice of the council. And yet it cannot be denied, but that the reformation made under King Josias, by advice of his council, was no less pleasing

[1] Edd. Heyl. "his."

[2] Antiqu. Jud. Lib. x. cap. 4 [r. 5]. *Author.*

unto God, nor less valid in the eyes of all his subjects, than those of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah, in their riper years; who perhaps acted singly on the strength of their own judgments only, without any advice. Now of Josias we are told by the said historian, that, "when he grew to be twelve years old, he gave manifest approbation of his piety and justice. For he drew the people to a comfortable course of life, and to the detestation and abolishing of idols, that were no gods, and to the service of the only true God of their forefathers. And, considering the actions of his predecessors, he began to rectify them in that wherein they were deficient, with no less circumspection than if he had been an old man; and that which he found to be correspondent, and advisedly done by them, that did he both maintain and imitate. All which things he did, both by reason of his innated wisdom, as also by the admonishment and counsel of his elders, in following orderly the laws, not only in matters of religion, but also of civil polity." Which puts the parallel betwixt the two young Kings, in the case before us, above all exception; and the proceedings of King Edward, or his council rather, beyond all dispute. An. Reg. 1, 1546—7.

13. Now, whereas question hath been made[1], whether the twenty-fourth Injunction, for labouring on the holy-day in time of harvest, extends as well to the Lord's day, as the annual festivals;—the matter seems, to any well-discerning eye, to be out of question. For in the third chapter of the statute made in the fifth and sixth years of King Edward the Sixth, (when the Reformation was much more advanced than it was at the present), the names and number of such holy-days as were to be observed in this Church, are thus laid down: "That is to say, all Sundays in the year, the feasts of the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Epiphany, &c." with all the rest, still kept, and there named particularly. And then it followeth in the act, "That it shall, and may, be lawful for every husbandman, labourer, fisherman, and to all and every other person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, upon the holy-days aforesaid, in harvest, or at any other time in the year, when necessity shall so require, to Working on the Lord's day allowed in certain cases.

[1] By Fuller, in his History, iv. 19. Fuller had since the date of that work been convinced by the argument of Heylyn's Examen, pp. 115-117. (Appeal of Injured Innocence, 485.)

An. Reg. 1, 1546—7. labour, ride, fish, or work any kind of work, at their free will and pleasure, any thing in this act to the contrary, notwithstanding[1]." The law being such, there is no question to be made in point of practice, nor consequently of the meaning of the King's Injunction. For further opening of which truth we find, that not the country only, but the court were indulged the liberty of attending business on that day; it being ordered by the King, amongst other things, "That the Lords of the Council should upon Sundays attend the public affairs of this realm, dispatch answers to letters for good order of state, and make full dispatches of all things concluded the week before: provided always, that they be present at Commou Prayer, and that on every Sunday night the King's Secretary should deliver him a memorial of such things as are to be debated by the Privy Council in the week ensuing." Which order, being compared with the words of the statute, may serve sufficiently to satisfy all doubts and scruples touching the true intent and meaning of the said Injunction[2].

Progress of the Reformation.

14. But, as this question was not started till the later times, when the Lord's day began to be advanced into the reputation of the Jewish sabbath; so was there nothing in the rest of the said Injunctions, which required a commentary—some words and passages therein, which seem absurd to us of this present 39
age, being then clearly understood by all and every one whom they did concern: published and given in charge by the Commissioners in their several circuits, with great zeal and cheerfulness; and no less readily obeyed in most parts of the realms, both by priests and people, who observed nothing in them either new or strange, to which they had not been prepared in the reign of the King deceased. None forwarder in this compliance than some learned men in and about the city of London, who not long since had shewed themselves of a contrary judgment:—some of them running before authority, and

[1] See E. V. Neale on Feasts and Fasts, Lond. 1845. p. 186.

[2] It will be remembered that Heylyn had been engaged in controversy against the Puritan views of the Sabbath. He recurs to this subject in his Life of Laud, p. 16. Collier, after quoting the argument in the text, observes, "But whether these permissions of the State do not indulge too far; whether they are to be reconciled with the customs and constitutions of the Church, or not—is another question, of which no more at present."—v. 202.

others keeping even pace with it, but few so confident of themselves as to lag behind. It was ordered in the twenty-first— "That, at the time of high mass, the Epistle and Gospel should be read in the English tongue:" and, "That both at the Matins, and Even-song, a chapter out of the New Testament[1] should be also read." And, for example to the rest of the land, the compline, being a part of the Evening Service, was sung in the King's chapel on Monday in the Easter-week, (then falling on the eleventh of April), in the English tongue[2]. Doctor Smith, Master of Whittington College in London, and Reader in Divinity at the King's College at Oxford, (afterwards better known by the name of Christchurch), had before published two books:—one of them written in defence of the mass, the other endeavouring to prove, that unwritten verities ought to be believed under pain of damnation. But, finding that these doctrines did not now beat according to the pulse of the times, he did voluntarily retract the said opinions; declaring in a sermon at St Paul's Cross, on Sunday the fifteenth of May, that his said former books and teachings were not only erroneous, but heretical[3]. The like was done in the month next following by Doctor Pern, afterwards Master of Peter-House in Cambridge; who, having on St George's day delivered, in the parish-church of Saint Andrew Undershaft, for sound catholic doctrine, "That the pictures of Christ, and of the saints were to be adored," upon the seventeenth day of June declared himself, in the said church, to have been deceived in that, what he before had taught them, and to be sorry for delivering such doctrine to them[4]. But these men might pretend some warrant from the King's Injunctions, which they might conceive it neither fit nor safe to oppose: and therefore, that it was the wisest way to strike sail betimes, upon the shooting of the first warning-piece to bring them in. But no man was so much beforehand with authority as one Doctor Glasier; who, as soon as the fast of Lent was over,—(and it was well he had the patience to stay so long),—affirmed publicly in a sermon at St Paul's Cross, that "the Lent was not ordained of God to be fasted, neither the eating of

[1] See note 4, p. 71. [2] Stow, 594.

[3] Stow, 594. Comp. Strype, Cranmer, B. ii. c. 7, and Append. No. 39.

[4] Stow, ib.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. flesh to be forborne ; but that the same was a politic ordinance of men, and might therefore be broken by men at their pleasure[1]." For which doctrine as the preacher was never questioned,—the temper of the times giving encouragement enough to such extravagancies,—so did it open such a gap to carnal liberty, that the King found it necessary to shut it up again by a proclamation on the sixteenth of January, commanding abstinence from all flesh, for the Lent then following[2].

Preparations for war with Scotland.

15. But there was something more than the authority of a minor King, which drew on such a general conformity to these Injunctions, and thereby smoothed the way of those alterations, both in doctrine and worship, which the grandees of the court and Church had began to fashion. The Lord Protector and his party were more experienced in affairs of state than to be told that all great counsels tending to innovation in the public government, (especially where religion is concerned therein), are either to be backed by arms, or otherwise prove destructive to the undertakers[3]. For this cause, he resolves to put himself into the head of an army ; as well for the security of his person and the preservation of his party, as for the carrying on of the design against all opponents. And for the raising of an army there could not be a fairer colour, nor a more popular pretence, than a war in Scotland[4] ; not to be made on any new emergent quarrel,—which might be apt to breed suspicion in the heads of the people,—but in pursuit of the great project of the King deceased, for uniting that realm, (by the marriage of their young Queen to his only son), to the crown of England. On this pretence levies are made in all parts of the kingdom, great store of arms and ammunition drawn together to advance the service, considerable numbers of old soldiers brought over from Bulloign and the pieces which depend on it, and good provision made of shipping, to attend the motions of the army upon all

[1] ib. Haweis, Sketches of the Reformation, 250. Glasier had been Cranmer's commissary at Calais. In the next reign, he appears on a commission from Cardinal Pole for the trial of persons charged with heresy.—Collier, vi. 181.

[2] Wilkins, iv. 20 ; Cardw. i. 30 (where see the editor's note.)

[3] This maxim is printed as a quotation in the old editions.

[4] "Henry, it is said, on his death-bed, had earnestly recommended the prosecution of the war with that country, under the mistaken idea that the Scots would be compelled at the point of the sword to fulfil the treaty of marriage."—Tytler, Hist. Scotl. vi. 11.

occasions. He entertained also certain regiments of Walloons and Germans: not out of any great opinion which he had of their valour, (though otherwise of good experience in the wars), but because they were conceived more likely to enforce obedience, (if his designs should meet with any opposition), than the natural English. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

16. But in the first place, care was taken that none of the neighbouring Princes should either hinder his proceedings, or assist the enemy. To which end Doctor Wotton, the first Dean of Canterbury, then resident with the Queen dowager of Hungary, (who at that time was Regent of the Estates of Flanders for Charles the Fifth) was despatched unto the Emperor's court, there to succeed in the place of Doctor Bonner, Bishop of London; who, together with Sir Francis Bryan, had formerly been sent Ambassadors thither from King Henry the Eighth. The principal part of his employment, besides such matters as are incident to all ambassadors, was to divert the Emperor from concluding any league with France, contrary to the capitulations made between the Emperor and the King deceased; but to deal with him, above all things, for declaring himself an enemy to all of the Scottish nation but such as should be friends to the King of England[1].

17. And, because some remainders of hostility did still remain between the English and the French, (notwithstanding the late peace made between the crowns), it was thought fit to sweeten and oblige that people by all the acts of correspondence and friendly neighbourhood. In order whereunto it was commanded by the King's proclamation, that restitution should be made of such ships and goods which had been taken from the French since the death of King Henry. Which being done also by the French,—though far short in the value of such reprisals as had been taken by the English,—there was good hope of coming to a better understanding of one another: and that, by this cessation of arms, both Kings might come in short time to a further agreement. But that which seemed to give most satisfaction to the court of France, was the performance of a solemn obsequy for King Francis the First; who left this life on the twenty-second day of March[2], and was Death of Francis I.

[1] Hayward, 277-8.

[2] March 31. See before, p. 59, n. 3.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. magnificently interred amongst his predecessors, in the monastery of St Denis, not far from Paris. Whose funerals were no sooner solemnized in France, but order was given for a *Dirige* to be sung in all the churches in London on the nineteenth of June, as also in the cathedral church of St Paul; in the quire whereof, being hung with black, a sumptuous hearse had been set up for the present ceremony. For the next day the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted with eight other of the Bishops, all in their rich mitres, and other their pontificals, did sing a mass of *Requiem;* the funeral sermon being preached by Doctor Ridley, Lord elect of Rochester[1]: who, if he did his part therein, as no doubt he did, could not but magnify the Prince for his love to learning, which was so great and eminent in him, that he was called by the French, *L' Pere des Arts et des Sciences*, and "The Father of the Muses" by some writers of other nations. Which attributes as he well deserved, so did he sympathise in that affection, (as he did in many other things), with King Henry the Eighth: of whose munificence for the encouragements of learning we have spoke before.

The Visitation executed. 18. This great solemnity being thus honourably performed, the Commissioners for the Visitation were despatched to their several circuits, and the army drawn from all parts to their 41
rendezvous, for the war with Scotland. Of which two actions, that of the Visitation, as the easiest, and meeting with a people which had been long trained up in the school of obedience, was carried on without any shew of opposition; submitted to upon a very small dispute, even by some of those Bishops who were conceived most likely to have disturbed the business. The first who declared his averseness to the King's

Behaviour of Bishops Gardiner and Bonner. proceedings, was Dr Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester: who, stomaching his being left out of the list of the council, appeared more cross to all their doings than other of his order. For which being brought before their Lordships, and not giving them such satisfaction as they looked for from him, they sent him prisoner to the Fleet[2]; where he remained from the

[1] Stow, 594. The title of "Lord elect of Rochester" is prematurely given, as the congé d'élire was not issued until Aug. 1.—Life of Ridley, in his Works, ed. Park. Soc. p. v.

[2] Stow, 595; Fox. vi. 78. Gardiner's Letter to Sir J. Godsalve, on the Injunctions, is printed by Burnet, II. ii. 163. Part of his letter to

twenty-fifth of September till the seventh of January, the King's Commissioners proceeding in the meantime without any disturbance. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

19. With less averseness, but with success not much unlike, was the business entertained by Dr Edmond Bonner, then Bishop of London: whom the Commissioners found more tractable than could have been expected from a man of so rough a nature, and one so cordially affected to the Church of Rome. The Commissioners authorised for this employment were, Sir Anthony Cook, and Sir John Godsal, Knights, John Godsal, and Christopher Nevinson, Doctors of the Laws; and John Madew, Doctor in Divinity: who, sitting in St Paul's church on the first day of September[1], called before them the said Bishop Bonner, John Royston, the renowned Polydore Virgil[2], and many other the dignitaries of the said cathedral: to whom, the sermon being done, and their Commission openly read, they ministered the oath of the King's supremacy, according to the statutes of the thirty-first of Henry the Eighth; requiring them withal to present such things as stood in need to be reformed. Which done, they delivered to him a copy of the said Injunctions, together with the Homilies set forth by the King's authority; received by him with protestation, that he would observe them, if they were not contrary to the law of God, and the statutes and ordinances of the Church. Which protestation he desired might be enrolled among the acts of the court. But afterwards, considering better with himself, as well of his own danger, as of the scandal and ill consequents which might thence arise, he addressed himself unto the King, revoking his said protestation, and humbly submitting himself to his Majesty's pleasure, in this manner following:

"Whereas I, Edmond Bishop of London, at such time as I received the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Homilies of my most dread and sovereign Lord, at the hands of his Highness' Visitors, did unadvisedly make such protestation, as now, upon

the Protector on the same subject, ib. 165. A very long correspondence, in Fox. vi. 24, seqq.

[1] Fox, v. 742.

[2] For an account of Polydore Vergil, see Fuller, iii. 101; Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 282.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of a most humble subject: forsomuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then by the Registrar[1] of the visitation enacted, and put in record: I have thought it my duty, not only to declare before your Lordships, that I do now, upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation; but also most humbly [to] beseech your Lordships, that this my revocation of the same may be in likewise put in the same records, for a perpetual memory of the truth: most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former unadvised doings may be by your good mediations pardoned of the King's Majesty.

"EDMOND LONDON[2]."

20. This humble carriage of the Bishop so wrought upon the King and the Lords of the Council, that the edge of their displeasure was taken off: though for a terror unto others, and for the preservation of their own authority, he was by them 42
committed prisoner to the Fleet[3]. During the short time of whose restraint, (that is to say on the eighteenth day of the same month of September), the Litany was sung in the English tongue in St Paul's church, between the quire and the high altar; the singers kneeling half on the one side, and half on the other. And the same day the Epistle and Gospel was also read at the high mass in the English tongue[4]. And about two months after, (that is to say, on the seventeenth day of November, next following), Bishop Bonner being then restored to his former liberty, the image of Christ, best known in those times by the name of the Rood, together with the images of Mary and John, and all other images in that church, as also in all the other churches of London, were taken down, as was commanded by the said Injunctions[5]. Concerning which we are to note, that, though the parliament was then sitting, (whereof more anon), yet the Commissioners proceeded only by the King's authority, without relating any thing to that high court in this weighty business. And in the speeding

[1] Edd. Heyl. "register." [2] Fox, v. 744; Wilkins, iv. 10.
[3] Sept. 11.—Stow, 594. [4] ib. [5] Stow, 595.

of this work, as Bishop Bonner, together with the Dean and Chapter, did perform their parts in the cathedral of St Paul: so Bellassere[1], Archdeacon of Colchester, and Doctor Gilbert Bourn,—(being at that time Archdeacon both of London and Essex[2], but afterwards preferred by Queen Mary to the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells),—were no less diligent and officious in doing the like in all the churches of their respective jurisdictions, according to the charge imposed upon them by his Majesty's Visitors. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

21. In the meantime, whilst matters were thus calmly acted on the stage of England, all things went no less fortunately forward with the Lord Protector in his war with Scotland: in which he carried himself with no less courage and success, when it came to blows, than he had done with Christian prudence, before he put himself on the expedition. For, having taken order for his forces to be drawn together, he thought it most expedient to his affairs to gain the start in point of reputation with his very enemies, by not engaging in a war until they had refused all terms of peace. And to this end a manifest is despatched unto them, declaring the motives which induced him to put this kingdom into a posture of arms. In which he remembered them of "the promises, seals, and oaths, which by public authority had passed for concluding this marriage: that these, being religious bonds betwixt God and their souls, could not by any politic act of state be dissolved, until their Queen should attain unto years of dissent." Adding, that "the providence of God did therein manifestly declare itself, in that, the male Princes of Scotland failing, the kingdom was left unto a daughter; and in that Henry left only one son to succeed: that these two Princes were agreeable, both for years and princely qualities, to be joined in marriage, and thereby to knit both realms into one: that this union, as it was like to be both easily done and of firm continuance, so would it be both profitable and honourable to both the realms: that both the easiness and firmness might be conjectured, for The war with Scotland.

[1] Or Bellasis—Archdeacon in 1543, died 1553. Le Neve, Fasti, p. 42.

[2] Le Neve does not mention Bourne as having held either of these archdeaconries. He was archdeacon of Bedford. See Kennett's note on Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, ii. 805, 4to.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. that both people are of the same language, of like habit and fashion, of like quality and condition of life, of one climate; not only annexed entirely together, but severed from all the world besides: that, as these are sure arguments that both descended from one original, so, (by reason that likeness is a great cause of liking and love), they would be most forcible means both to join and hold them in one body again: that profit would rise by extinguishing wars between the two nations; by reason whereof, in former times, victories abroad have been impeached, invasions and seditions occasioned, the confines of both realms laid waste, or else made a nursery of rapines, robberies, and murders; the inner parts often deeply pierced, and made a wretched spectacle to all eyes of humanity and pity: that the honour of both realms would increase, as well in regard of the countries,—sufficient not only to furnish the necessities, but the moderate pleasures of this life,—as also of the people, great in multitude, in body able, assured in 43
mind; not only for the safety, but the glory of the common state: that hereby would follow assurance of defence, strength to enterprise, ease in sustaining public burdens and charges: that herein the English desired no pre-eminence, but offered equality, both in liberty and privilege, and in capacity of offices and employments; and, to that end, the name of Britain[1] should be assumed, indifferent to both nations: that this would be the complishment of their common felicity, in case, (by their evil, either destiny, or advice), they suffered not the occasion to be lost[2]."

22. It was no hard matter to foresee that either the Scots would return no answer to this declaration, or such an answer, at the best, as should signify nothing. So that the war began to open, and some hostilities to be exercised on either side, before the English forces could be drawn together. For so it happened, that a small ship of the King's, called the Pensie[3], hovering at sea, was assailed by the Lion, a principal ship of Scotland. The fight began afar off, and slow; but when they approached, it grew very furious: wherein the Pensie so applied her shot, that therewith the Lion's ore-loop was broken, her

[1] "Britains," Hayward. [2] Hayward, 278-9.

[3] i. e. the Pevensey.—Tytler, Hist. Scotl. vi. 12. Edward in his Journal (Burnet, II. ii. 5) calls it the *Paunsie*.

sails and tacklings torn, and lastly, she was boarded, and taken. But, as she was brought for England, she was cast away by negligence and tempest near Harwich haven, and most of her men perished with her. Which small adventure (as Sir John Hayward[1] well observes) seemed to prognosticate the success of the war: in which the English, with a small army, gained a glorious victory, but were deprived of the fruit and benefits of it by the storms at home. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

23. All thoughts of peace being laid aside, the army draws together at Newcastle, about the middle of August[2], consisting of twelve or thirteen thousand foot, thirteen hundred men-at-arms, and two thousand eight hundred light horse:—both men and horse so well appointed, that a like army never shewed itself before that time on the borders of Scotland. Over which army, so appointed, the Lord Protector held the office of General; the Earl of Warwick that of Lieutenant General; the Lord Gray[3], General of the horse, and Marshal also of the field; Sir Ralph Vane, Lieutenant of all the men-at-arms and demi-lances; and Sir Ralph Sadlier, Treasurer General for the wars: inferior offices being distributed amongst other gentlemen of name and quality, according to their well deservings. At Newcastle they remained till the fleet arrived, consisting of sixty-five bottoms: whereof one galley and thirty-four tall ships were well appointed for fight; the residue served for carriage of munition and victuals: the Admiral of this fleet being Edward Lord Clynton, created afterwards Earl of Lincoln, on the fourth of May, 1572, in the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth. Making some little stay at Berwick, they entered not on Scottish ground till the third of September[4]; keeping their march along the shore, within sight of the fleet, that they might be both aided and relieved by it, as occasion served: and, making all along the shore, they fell, at the end of two days, into a valley called the Peathes, containing six miles in length, in breadth about four hundred paces

[1] 279.

[2] Aug. 27.—Tytler, Hist. Scotl. vi. 19; Hayward, 279. I have not thought it necessary to mention the discrepancies which are found here and elsewhere between various statements as to the amount of forces.

[3] Lord Grey of Wilton.

[4] Sept. 2.—Tytler, vi. 20.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. toward the sea, and but one hundred toward the land, where it was shut up by a river[1]. The issues out of it made into several paths, which the Scots had caused to be cut in divers places with traverse trenches: and thereby so encumbered the army in their marching forwards, till the pioneers had smoothed the way, that a small power of the enemy, (if their fortune had been answerable to the opportunity), might have given a very good account of them to the rest of their nation. Which difficulty being overcome, and a passage thereby given them unto places of more advantage, they made themselves masters of the three next castles, for making good of their retreat, if the worst should happen.

24. Upon the first news of these approaches,—enlarged, (as the custom is), by the voice of fame,—the Earl of Arran, being then Lord Governor of Scotland, was not meanly startled; as being neither furnished with foreign aid, nor much relying 44
on the forces which he had at home[2]. Yet resuming his accustomed courage, and well acquainted with both fortunes, he sent his heralds through all parts of the realm, commanded the fire-cross, (that is to say, two firebrands, set in fashion of a cross, and pitched upon the point of a spear), to be advanced in the field, (according to the ancient custom of that country in important cases), and therewithal caused proclamation to be made, that all persons, from sixteen years of age to sixty, should repair to Muscleborough, and bring their ordinary provision of victuals with them[3]. Which proclamation being made, and

[1] Edd. Heyl. "Peuthes." "A valley stretching towards the sea, six miles in length, about twenty score [paces] in breadth above, and five score in the bottom, wherein runs a little river. The banks are so steep on either side, that the passage is not direct, but by paths leading slopewise; which being many, the place is thereupon called the *Peathes* [i. e. paths.]"—Hayward, 281. Comp. Tytler, vi. 20. Heylyn is evidently mistaken in supposing the measurements "above" and "in the bottom" to relate to the opposite *ends* of the defile.

[2] Arran had been engaged in contests which prevented earlier preparations against the English invasion; and a great number of the Scottish nobles and gentry were known to be expressly bound to the English interest.—Tytler, vi. 16-21.

[3] Lesley, 462; Hayward, 281. The "Lady of the Lake" has rendered the fiery cross familiar to modern readers. Mr Tytler observes that the occasion in the text is the earliest on which it is mentioned as having been employed in the *lowlands*. (vi. 20.) It would seem, from

the danger in which the kingdom stood represented to them, the people flocked in such multitudes to their rendezvous, that it was thought fit to make choice of such as were most serviceable, and dismiss the rest. Out of which they compounded an army, (the nobility and gentry, with their followers being reckoned in), consisting of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse: but poorly armed, fitter to make excursions, or to execute some sudden inroad, than to entertain any strong charge from so brave an army. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

25. The armies drawing near together, the General and the Earl of Warwick rode towards the place where the Scottish army lay, to view the manner of their encamping[1]. As they were returning, an herald and a trumpeter from the Scots overtook them; and, having obtained audience, thus the herald began: that, "he was sent from the Lord Governor of Scotland, partly to inquire of prisoners, but chiefly to make offer, that,—because he was desirous, not only to avoid profusion, but the least effusion of Christian blood; and for that the English had not done any unmanlike outrage or spoil,—he was content they might return, and should have his safe conduct for their peaceable passage." Which said, the trumpeter spake as followeth: that "the Lord Huntley, his master, sent message by him,—that, as well for brief expedition, as to spare expense of Christian blood, he would fight upon the whole quarrel, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten, or, more particularly, by single combat between the Lord General and himself: which,—in regard the Scots had advantage, both for number, and freshness of men; in regard also that for supply, both for provision and succours, they were at home,—he esteemed an honourable and charitable offer."

To the herald the Lord General returned this answer—that, "as his coming was not with purpose or desire to en-

his speaking of it as "advanced in the field," that Heylyn supposed the cross to have been used as a standard; a view which he may have derived from Speed, who, after giving the usual account of it, adds: "Yet there be that say it was a painted red cross, set up for certain days in the field of that barony whereunto the aid should come." (p. 830.)

[1] Sept. 9. There had already been a partial engagement, in which the Scots lost 1300 men—almost the whole of their cavalry.—Hayward, 282; Tytler, vi. 22-3.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. damage their realm ;—as he was there, he would neither intreat nor accept of him leave to depart, but would measure his marches in advancing or retiring, as his own judgment, guided by advice of his council, should deem expedient."

To the trumpeter he returned this answer—that "the Lord Huntley, his master, was a young gentleman full of free courage, but more desirous of glory than judicious, (as it seemed), how to win it: that for a number of combatants, it was not in his power to conclude a bargain, but he was to employ all the forces put under his charge to the best advantage that he could: that in case this were a particular quarrel between the Governor and him, he would not refuse a particular combat; but, being a difference between the two kingdoms, it was neither fit, nor in his power, either to undertake the adventure upon his own fortune, or, bearing a public charge, to hazard himself against a man of private condition." Which said, and the Earl of Warwick offering to take upon himself the answer to Huntley's challenge, the Lord Protector interposed, and, turning again unto the herald—"Herald," (saith he), "tell the Lord Governor and the Lord Huntley, that we have entered your country with a sober company" (which in the language of the Scots, is *poor* and *mean* :) "your army is both great and fresh ; but let them appear upon indifferent ground, and assuredly they shall have fighting enough. And bring me word that they will so do, and I will reward thee with a thousand crowns[1]."

26. These braveries thus passed over on either side, the Lord Protector, wisely considering with himself the uncertain issue of pitched fields, and minding to preserve his army for some other purposes, thought fit to tempt the Scots, by another missive, to yield unto his just demands. In which he wished them to consider[2]—

That "this war was waged amongst Christians; and that our ends were no other than a just peace, whereto the endeavours of all good men should tend: that an occasion not only of a league, but of a perpetual peace, was now happily offered, if they would suffer the two differing and emulous nations, by

[1] Hayward, 282-3.

[2] This letter is from Godwin's Annals, 125. Hayward (283) gives it in an abridged form.

uniting the heads[1] to grow together: that, as this had formerly been sought by us, so it had been generally assented to by the estates of Scotland; that, therefore, he could not but wonder why they should rather treacherously recur to arms—(the events of war being usually, even to the victor, sufficiently unfortunate)—than[2] maintain inviolate their troth plighted to the good of both nations: that they could not in reason expect that their Queen should perpetually live a virgin life; that, if she married, where could she bestow herself better than on a puissant monarch, inhabiting the same island, and speaking the same language? that they could not choose but see what inconveniences were the consequents of foreign matches; whereof they should rather make trial by the examples of others, than at their own peril: that, though he demanded nothing but equity, yet he so far abhorred the effusion of Christian blood, that, if he found the Scots not utterly averse from an accord, he would endeavour that some of the conventions[3] should be remitted: that he would also consent that the Queen should abide and be brought up amongst them, until her age made her marriageable; at what time she should, by the consent of the estates, herself make choice of an husband: that in the mean time there should be a cessation of arms, neither should the Queen be transported out of her realm, nor entertain treaty of marriage with the French, nor any other foreigner: that, if this they would faithfully promise, he would forthwith peaceably depart out of Scotland; and that, whatsoever damages the country had suffered by this invasion, he would, according to the esteem of indifferent arbitrators, make ample satisfaction."

An. Reg. 1, 1547.

27. What effect this letter might have produced, if the contents thereof had been communicated to the generality of the Scottish army, it is hard to say. Certain it is, that those who had the conduct of the Scots' affairs, (as if they had been totally carried on to their own destruction,) resolved not to put it to the venture: but, on the contrary, caused it to be noised abroad that "nothing would content the English but to have the young Queen at their disposal, and, under colour of a marriage, to subdue the kingdom; which was to be reduced

[1] Edd. Heyl. "head."
[2] Edd. Heyl. insert "to."
[3] Edd. Heyl. "contentions."

An. Reg. 1, 1547. for ever to the form of a province[1]." This false report did so exasperate all sorts of people, that they were instant for the fight. Which was as cheerfully accepted by the chief commanders of the English army, in regard of some intelligence which was brought unto them, that the French were coming with twelve galleys and fifty ships, to fall upon them in the rear. So as, both parties being resolved to try their fortune, they ranged their armies in this manner. The English, having gained an hill, which was near their shipping, disposed their army in this order. The avant-guard, consisting of between three and four thousand foot, one hundred men-at-arms, and six hundred light horsemen, was conducted by the Earl of Warwick. After which followed the main battle, consisting of about six thousand foot, six hundred men-at-arms, and about one thousand light horsemen, commanded by the Lord Protector himself. And, finally, the arrear, consisting of between three and four thousand foot, one hundred men-at-arms, and six hundred light horse, was led by the Lord Dacres, an active, though an aged gentleman[2]. The rest of the horses was either cast into the wings, or kept for a reserve against all events. And so the battle being disposed, the Lord General, in few words, but with no small gravity, (which to a soldier serves instead of eloquence), puts them in mind of "the honour which 46
their ancestors had acquired in that kingdom; of their own extreme disgrace and danger, if they fought not well: that the justness of their quarrel should not so much encourage as enrage them—being to revenge the dishonour done to their King, and to chastise the deceitful dealings of their enemies: that the multitude of their enemies should nothing dismay them, because they, who come to maintain their own breach of faith,—(besides that the check of their consciences much breaketh their spirit),—have the omnipotent arm of God most furious against them[3]."

Battle of Musselburgh, or Pinkie, Sept. 10.

28. The Scots at the same time having improvidently crossed the Esk, to find their graves on this side of the water,

[1] Hayward, 283.

[2] "A lively, aged gentleman, no less settled in experience than in years."—Hayward, 280.

[3] Hayward, 284.

disposed their army in this manner. In the avant-guard were placed about fifteen thousand, commanded by the Earl of Angus; about ten thousand in the main battle, of whom the Lord Governor took the conduct; and so many more in the arrear, led by the valiant Gourdon, Earl of Huntley. And, being ready to fall on (on a false hope that the English were upon the flight) the Lord Governor put them in remembrance, how "they could never yet be brought under by the English, but were always able either to beat them back or to weary them out:" bidding them "look upon themselves, and upon their enemies—themselves dreadful, their enemies gorgeous and brave; on their side, men, on the other, spoil; in case either through slowness or cowardice they did not permit them to escape, who (lo, now) already had begun their flight[1]." And, to say truth, the English having changed their ground, to gain the hill which lay near their shipping, and which also gave them the advantage both of sun and wind, wrought an opinion in the Scots that they dislodged to no other end than to recover their ships, that they might save themselves, though they lost their carriages. In confidence whereof, they quitted a place of great strength, where they were encamped, and from which the whole army of England was not able to force them. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

29. But the old English proverb telleth us that "they that reckon without their host, are to reckon twice;" and so it fared with this infatuated people. For on the tenth of September, the battles being ready to join, a piece of ordnance, discharged from the galley of England, took off five and twenty of their men; amongst whom the eldest son of the Lord Graham was one[2]. Whereupon four thousand archers, terrified with so unexpected a slaughter, made a stand, and could never after be brought on; so that they stood like men amazed, as neither having hearts to fight nor opportunity to fly. Which consternation notwithstanding, the Lord Gray, being sent with a strong party of horse to give the onset, found the main body so well embattled, and such a valiant opposition made by a stand of pikes, that they were almost as impenetrable as a rock Defeat of the Scots.

[1] Ibid.

[2] Hayward calls this young nobleman "the Master of Grime." His father was Earl of Montrose—the earldom having been conferred in 1505.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. of adamants: till, being terrified by the English ordnance, which came thundering on them from the top of the hill, and galled by the great shot from the ships, they began to brangle. Which being perceived by the English, they gave a loud shout, crying, "They fly, they fly!" and thereby so astonished the affrighted enemy, that they began to fly indeed, and presently throwing down their arms betook themselves unto their heels. Many were slain upon the place, more executed in the chase, and not a few in the Esk, which so improvidently they had passed the day before[1]; so that the number of the slain was thought to have amounted to fourteen thousand[2]. About fifteen hundred of both sorts were taken prisoners, among which the daring Earl of Huntley was one of the chief; who, being after asked, how he liked the marriage, is said to have returned this answer, that, "he could well enough brook the wedding, but that he did not like that kind of wooing[3]." Amongst the number of the slain were found good store of monks and friars; some thousands[4] of which had put themselves into the army, which had been raised especially by their power and practices.

The victory is not followed up.

30. The greatness of the booty, in arms and baggage, was not the least cause that the English reaped no better fruit from so great a victory, and did not prosecute the war to an 47
absolute conquest. For, being intent in pillaging the dead and gathering up the spoils of the field, and solacing themselves in Leith, for five days together, they gave the Scots time to make head again, to fortify some strong places on the other side of the Frith, and to remove the Queen to Dunbritton Castle, from whence they conveyed her into France in the year next following. And though the loss, rather than neglect, of this opportunity is to be attributed in the first place to God's secret pleasure—who had reserved the union of the kingdoms till an happier time—yet were there many second causes and subordinate motives, which might prevail upon the Lord Protector

[1] It was on the morning of the *same* day that this movement (related in the preceding paragraph) was made.

[2] "Of the inferior sort, about 10,000, and, as some say, 14,000."—Hayward, 286. King Edward says "ten thousand," besides "of lairds, a thousand."—Journal, in Burnet, II. ii. 6.

[3] Hayward, 286.

[4] "These made a band of three or four thousand, as it was said; but they were not altogether so many."—Hayward, 286.

to return for England without advancing any further. For either he might be taken off by the Earl of Warwick, who then began to cast an envious eye on his power and greatness: or might be otherwise unwilling, of his own accord, to tempt his fortune any further, by hazarding that honour in a second battle which he had acquired in the first: or he might think it more conducible to his affairs to be present at the following parliament; in which he had some work to do, which seemed more needful to him than the war with Scotland—the good success whereof would be ascribed to his officers and commanders, but the misfortunes wholly reckoned upon his account. Or, finally, (which I rather think), he might conceive it necessary to preserve his army, and quarter it in the most convenient places near the English borders, that it might be ready at command upon all occasions, if his designs should meet with any opposition, as before was said. And this may be believed the rather, because that, having fortified some islands in the mouth of the Frith, he garrisoned the greatest part of his army in Roxborough, Haddington, Hume Castle, and other pieces of importance—most of them lying near together, and the furthest not above a day's march from Berwick[1]. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

31. Now as concerning the day in which this victory was obtained, I find two notable mistakes—the one committed by the Right Reverend Bishop Godwin; and the other by the no less learned Sir John Hayward. By Bishop Godwin it is placed exceeding rightly, on the tenth of September[2]; but then he doth observe it, as a thing remarkable—that this memorable victory was obtained on the very same day in which the images, which had been taken out of the several churches, were burned in London. Whereas we are informed by John Stow[3], a diligent observer of days and times—that the images in the churches of London were not taken down before the seventeenth of November. And we are told by Sir John Hayward that the day of this fight was the tenth of December[4], which must be either a mistake of the press or a

[1] Hayward, 287. The Protector's retreat appears to have been caused by intelligence of plots against him in England.—Burnet. II. ii. 112; Robertson, Hist. Scotl. i. 101; Tytler, vi. 34.

[2] Godwin, Annals, 127. [3] Annals, 595.

[4] In Kennett it is printed "September," p. 286.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. slip of the pen; it being noted in the words next following, that on the same day, thirty-four years ago, the Scots had been defeated by the English at Flodden-field. Which, though it pointeth us back to the month of September, yet the mistake remaineth as unto the day;—that battle being fought, not on the tenth, but the ninth of September, as all our writers do agree[1]. But, leaving these mistakes behind us, let us attend

The Protector returns to England. the Lord Protector to the court of England; towards which he hastened with such speed, that he stayed but twenty-five days upon Scottish ground from his first entrance to his exit. And, being come unto the court, he was not only welcomed by the King for so great a service, with a present of £500 per annum to him and to his heirs for ever, but highly honoured by all sorts of people: the rather, in regard that he had bought so great a victory at so cheap a rate as the loss of sixty horse only, and but one of his foot[2].

Proceedings in Parliament. 32. And now 'tis high time to attend the parliament, which took beginning on the fourth of November and was prorogued on the twenty-fourth of December following. In which the cards were so well packed by Sir Ralph Sadlier, that there was no need of any more shuffling till the end of the game:—this very parliament, without any sensible alteration of the members of it, being continued by prorogation, from session to session, until at last it ended by the death of the King. For a preparatory whereunto, Richard, Lord Rich, was made Lord Chancellor on the twenty-fourth of October; and Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Court of First-fruits and Tenths, was 48
nominated Speaker for the House of Commons[3]. And, that all things might be carried with as little opposition and noise as might be, it was thought fit that Bishop Gardiner should be kept in prison till the end of the session; and that Bishop Tonstal, of Durham, (a man of a most even and moderate spirit), should be made less in reputation, by being deprived of

[1] Hall, 563; Stow, 494; Speed, 768; Tytler, Hist. Scotl. v. 62.

[2] Hayward, 288. The cheapness of the victory is certainly somewhat exaggerated. Hume says, that "there fell not two hundred of the English."—iv. 268. Tytler represents about that number of cavalry as unhorsed and killed in the charge on the pikemen.—vi. 30. The English infantry were not concerned in the affair, until the rout of the enemy had begun.

[3] Stow, 595.

his place at the Council-table. And though the Parliament consisted of such members as disagreed amongst themselves in respect of religion, yet they agreed well enough together in one common principle; which was, to serve the present time, and to preserve themselves. For, though a great part of the nobility, and not a few of the chief gentry in the House of Commons, were cordially affected to the Church of Rome: yet were they willing to give way to all such Acts and Statutes as were made against it, out of a fear of losing such Church-lands as they were possessed of, if that religion should prevail and get up again. And for the rest, who either were to make or improve their fortunes, there is no question to be made, but that they came resolved to further such a Reformation as should most visibly conduce to the advancement of their several ends. Which appears plainly by the strange mixture of the acts and results thereof—some tending simply to God's glory, and the good of the Church; some to the present benefit and enriching of particular persons; and some, again, being devised of purpose to prepare a way for exposing the revenues of the Church unto spoil and rapine. Not to say anything of those Acts which were merely civil, and tended to the profit and emolument of the Commonwealth. An. Reg. 1. 1547.

33. Of the first sort was the Act for repealing several Statutes concerning Treason[1]. Under which head, besides those many bloody laws which concerned the life of the subject in civil matters, and had been made in the distracted times of the late King Henry, there was a repeal also of such statutes as seemed to touch the subject in life or liberty for matter of conscience: some whereof had been made in the times of King Richard the Second and Henry the Fourth, against such as, dissenting in opinion from the Church of Rome, were then called Lollards[2]. Of which sort also was another, made in the twenty-fifth of the King deceased[3], together with that terrible statute of the Six Articles (commonly called "The Whip with Six Strings[4],") made in the thirty-first year of the said King Henry. Others were of a milder nature, but such as were thought incon- Act for liberty in religion.

[1] 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.
[2] 5 Rich. II. c. 5; 2 Hen. IV. c. 15; 2 Hen. V. c. 7.
[3] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14. "An Act for the Punishment of Heresy."
[4] Hall, 828; Fox, v. 262. See above, p. 21.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. sistent with that freedom of conscience which most men coveted to enjoy; that is to say, the Act for Qualification of the said Six Articles, 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 5[1]; the Act inhibiting the reading of the Old and New Testament in the English tongue, and the printing, selling, giving, or delivering of any such other books or writings as are therein mentioned and condemned, 34 Hen. VIII. cap. 1. But these were also abrogated, as the others were, together with all and every Act or Acts of Parliament concerning doctrine and matters of religion; and all and every article, branch, sentence and matter, pains and forfeitures, in the same contained. By which repeal all men may seem to have been put into a liberty of reading Scripture, and being in a manner their own expositors; of entertaining what opinions in religion best pleased their fancies, and promulgating those opinions which they entertained[2]: so that the English for a time enjoyed that liberty which the Romans are affirmed by Tacitus to have enjoyed without control in the times of Nerva; that is to say, "A liberty of opining whatsoever they pleased, and speaking freely their opinions wheresoever they listed[3]." Which whether it were such a great felicity as that author makes it, may be more than questioned.

Act against such as speak against the Sacrament.

34. Of this sort also was the Act entitled "An Act against such as speak against the Sacrament of the Altar, and for the receipt thereof in both kinds:" cap. 1. In the first part whereof it is provided with great care and piety, that "Whatsoever person, or persons, from and after the first day of May next coming, shall deprave, despise, or contemn the most blessed 49
Sacrament, by any contemptuous words, or by any words of depraving, despising, or reviling, &c. that then he or they shall suffer imprisonment, and make fine and ransom, at the King's pleasure." And, to say truth, it was but time that

[1] Edd. "9."

[2] "But here this learned historian is something mistaken. For, notwithstanding the statutes against Lollardy and unsound opinions were nulled, the rigours of the common law were still in force. Now, by the common law, as the learned Fitzherbert affirms, the punishment of heresy was burning. And of executions of this kind, we shall have several instances in this reign."—Collier, v. 225.

[3] "Ubi et sentire quæ velis, et quæ velis loqui, liceat."—Tacit. Hist. Lib. I. *Author.* [The words are "rarâ temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere, liceat."—i. 1.]

some provision should be made to suppress that irreverence and profaneness with which this blessed Sacrament was at that time handled by too many of those who seemed most ignorantly zealous of a Reformation. For whereas the Sacrament was in those times delivered unto each communicant in a small round wafer, commonly called by the name of *Sacramentum Altaris*, or, The blessed Sacrament of the Altar; and that such parts thereof as were reserved from time to time were hanged up over the altar in a pix, or box;—those zealous ones, in hatred to the Church of Rome, reproached it by the odious names of Jack-in-a-box, Round Robin, Sacrament of the Halter, and other names, so unbecoming the mouths of Christians, that they were never taken up by the Turks and Infidels. And though Bishop Ridley, a right learned and religious prelate, frequently in his sermons had rebuked the irreverent behaviour of such light and ill-disposed persons[1], yet neither he, nor any other of the Bishops, were able to reform the abuse (the quality and temper of the times considered); which therefore was thought fit to be committed to the power of the civil magistrate, the Bishop being called in to assist at the sentence. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

35. In the last branch of the Act it is first declared, according to the truth of Scripture, and the tenor of approved antiquity, "That it is most agreeable both to the institution of the said Sacrament, and more conformable to the common use and practice both of the Apostles and of the Primitive Church, by the space of five hundred years [and more[2]] after Christ's ascension, that the said blessed Sacrament should rather be ministered unto all Christian people under both the kinds of bread and wine than under the form of bread only." And thereupon it was enacted, that "The said most blessed Sacrament should be hereafter commonly delivered and ministered unto the people, within the Church of England and Ireland and other the King's dominions, under both the kinds, that is to say, of bread and wine." With these provisos notwithstanding, "If necessity did not otherwise require;" as in the case of sudden sickness, and other such-like extremities, in which it was not possible that wine could be provided for the use of the The Eucharist to be given in both kinds.

[1] This is mentioned by Ridley in his examination at Oxford.—Fox, vii. 523.

[2] Inserted from the Act.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. Sacrament, nor the sick man depart this life in peace without it: and, secondly, That the permitting of this liberty to the people of England and the dominions of the same, should not be construed to the condemning of any other Church or Churches, or the usages of them, in which the contrary was observed. So far the Parliament enacted, in relation to the thing itself, as[1] the subject-matter, that the communion should be delivered in both kinds to all the good people of the kingdoms. But for the form in which it was to be administered, that was left wholly to the King, and by the King committed to the care of the Bishops (of which more hereafter);—the Parliament declaring only, "That a godly exhortation should be made by the ministers, therein expressing the great benefit and comfort promised to them which worthily receive the same, and the great danger threatened by God to all such persons as should unworthily receive it."

36. Now that there is not any thing, either in the declaration of this Parliament, or the words by which it was enacted, which doth not every way agree with Christ's institution, appears most plainly by this passage of Bishop Jewel: "I would demand," saith he, "of Master Harding, what things he would require to Christ's institution? If words, Christ's words be plain; if example, Christ himself ministered in both kinds; if authority, Christ commanded his disciples, and in them all other ministers of his Church, to do the like; if certainty of his meaning, the apostles, endued with the Holy Ghost, so practised the same, and understood he meant so; if continuance of time, he bade the same to be continued till his coming again." (Jewel against Harding, Art. ii. § 4.[2]) Which said, he thus proceedeth in the eighth Section (that is to say): "Some say that the priests in Russia, for lack of wine, used to consecrate in metheglin. Others, that Innocent the Eighth, for the like want, dispensed with the priests of Norway to consecrate without wine. It were no reason to bind the [whole] Church to the necessity or imbecility of a few. For otherwise, the same want and impossibility[3] which Master Harding hath here found for the one part of the Sacrament, may be found

[1] "to," edd. 1. 2.

[2] Works, i. 211, ed. Parker Soc.; i. 352, ed Jelf.

[3] "Imbecillity," edd. Heyl.

[also] for the other. For Arrianus, *De Rebus Indicis*, and Strabo, in his Geography, have written, that there be whole nations and countries that have no bread[1]. Therefore it should seem necessary by this conclusion, that, in consideration of them, the whole Church should abstain from the other portion of the Sacrament also, and so have no Sacrament at all[2]." But because he may be suspected to be over partial in favour of the Church of England, let us see next what is confessed by Doctor Harding, the first who took up arms against it in Queen Elizabeth's time; who doth acknowledge in plain terms, that "the Communion was delivered in both kinds at Corinth, as appeareth by St Paul; and in many other places also, as may most evidently be found in the writings of many ancient Fathers. And finally, that it was so used for the space of six hundred years, and [long] after." (Art. II. § 8, 28[3].) An. Reg. 1, 1547.

37. But, because Harding leaves the point at 600 and after, I doubt not but we may be able, on an easy search, to draw the practice down to six hundred more, and possibly somewhat after also. For Haymo of Halberstadt, who flourished in the year 850, informs us that "the cup is called the cup of the communion of the blood of Christ, because all communicate thereof[4]." And we are certified in the history of Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, that William, Duke of Normandy, immediately before the battle near Hastings, anno 1066, caused his whole army to communicate in both kinds as the use then was[5]. And finally, it is observed by Thomas Aquinas, who lived in and after the year 1260, that in some Churches of his

[1] "The Ichthyophagi are doubtless meant.—Arrian. Lib. Hist. Ind. cap. xxix. Strabon. Geogr. Lib. xv." Note by the Rev. J. Ayre, editor of Jewel for the Parker Society.

[2] Jewel, i. 222, ed. Park. Soc.; i. 372, ed. Jelf.

[3] i. 220, 253, ed. Park. Soc.; i. 368, 425, ed. Jelf.

[4] "Appellatur calix communionum; quia omnes communicant ex illo."—Haymo in I. ad Cor. cap. 11. *Author.* [This seems to be an inaccurate quotation of a passage in the commentary on the 10th chapter. "Appellatur et ipse calix communicatio, quasi participatio; quia omnes communicant ex illo, partemque sumunt ex sanguine Domini quem continet in se."—Haymo in D. Pauli Epistolas, Argentin. 1519, fol. lxii.]

[5] See Jewel, ed. Park. Soc. i. 261—where the other passages quoted in this section are also given. The editions of Heylyn read "Antonius" and "966."

An. Reg. 1, 1547. time the cup was not given unto the people. Which though he reckoneth for a provident and prudent usage[1]; yet, by restraining it only to some few churches, he shews the general usage of the Church to have been otherwise at that time; as indeed it was. So that the Parliament in this case appointed nothing but what was consonant to the institution of our Lord and Saviour, and to the practice of the Church for 1260 years and upwards: which is sufficient to discharge it from the scandal of an innovation. Nor, probably, had the Parliament appointed this, but that it was advised by such godly Bishops as were desirous to reduce the ministration of that most blessed Sacrament to the first institution of it, and the primitive practice: the Convocation of that year not being empowered to act in any public business, for ought appearing on record.

Chantries, &c. given by Parliament to the King.

38. The next great business was the retrieving of a statute made in the thirty-seventh year of King Henry the Eighth[2]: by which all chantries, colleges, free-chapels, and hospitals, were permitted to the disposing of the King for term of his life. But the King dying before he had taken many of the said colleges, hospitals, chantries, and free-chapels into his possession, and the great ones of the court not being willing to lose so rich a booty—it was set on foot again, and carried in this present Parliament. In and by which it was enacted, that "All such colleges, free-chapels, and chantries, as were in being within five years of the present session, which were not in the actual possession of the said late King, &c. other than such as by the King's commissions should be altered, transported, and changed; together with all manors, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, pensions, portions, and other hereditaments, to the same belonging;—after the feast of Easter then next coming, should be adjudged, and deemed, and also be, in the actual and real possession and seisin of the King, his heirs, and successors for ever[3]." And though the hospitals, being at that time an hundred and ten, were not included in this grant, as

[1] "In quibusdam Ecclesiis provide observatur ut populo Sanguis non detur."—Sect. 3. qu. 80. Art. 11. [r. 12.] *Author.* [From the language of a provincial Synod, held at Lambeth, A.D. 1281, Collier shews that the practice of communicating in one kind was at that time beginning to gain ground, but only as yet in *parish* churches.—ii. 578.]

[2] c. 4. Sup. p. 25. The old editions wrongly read "27th."

[3] 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.

they had been in that to the King deceased; yet the revenue which by this Act was designed to the King, his heirs, and successors, must needs have been a great improvement to the
51 Crown, if it had been carefully kept together, as it was first pretended: there being accounted ninety colleges within the compass of that grant (those in the Universities not being reckoned in that number); and no fewer than 2374 free-chapels and chantries[1]—the lands whereof were thus conferred upon the King by name, but not intended to be kept together for his benefit only. In which respect it was very stoutly insisted on by Archbishop Cranmer, that the dissolving of these colleges, free-chapels, and chantries, should be deferred until the King should be of age, to the intent that they might serve the better to furnish and maintain his royal estate, than that so great a treasure should be consumed in his nonage, as it after was[2]. Of this we shall speak more in the following year, when the grant of the said chantries, free-chapels, &c. came to take effect. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

39. In the meantime, it will not be amiss to shew that these chantries consisted of salaries allowed to one or more priests, to say daily mass for the souls of their deceased founders and their friends. Which, not subsisting on themselves, were generally incorporated and united to some parochial, collegiate, or cathedral church; no fewer than forty-seven in number being

[1] Herbert, 218.

[2] "Archbishop Cranmer, in his dissent, acted upon the hopes he had, that if such institutions could be saved out of lay hands till the king was of age, he might be persuaded to convert them to the bettering of the condition of the poor parochial clergy, who were now disappointed of all hopes of being bettered by other means, when they saw the impropriations conveyed apace into lay hands."—2 Burn, 45... ...[Comp. Collier, v. 233.] "Mr Boyle, in his Treatise upon Charities, (262,) observes: 'To characterize this Act as one which gave all property, appropriated to any of the superstitious uses reached by it, to the king for his own benefit, is manifestly to misrepresent its policy and operation..... It appears to have been the intention of parliament to provide for certain objects, as being the most urgent, through the medium of a commission, and to leave the rest to the discretion and disposal of the king..... The king, therefore, though he took all the property not exhausted by [purposes mentioned in the Act], took it, not for his own benefit, but as a trustee, notwithstanding he could not be made responsible for its due application to any earthly tribunal.'"—Stephens, Eccl. Statutes, i. 294.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. found and founded in St Paul's[1]. Free-chapels, though ordained for the same intent, were independent of themselves, of stronger constitution and richer endowment than the chantries severally were; though therein they fell also short of the colleges, which far exceeded them, both in the beauty of their building, the number of priests maintained in them, and the proportion of revenue allotted to them[2]. All which foundations, having in them an admixture of superstition (as presupposing purgatory, and prayers to be made for deliverance of the soul from thence), were therefore now suppressed upon that account, and had been granted to the late King upon other pretences. At what time[3] it was preached at Mercers' Chapel, in London, by one Doctor Crome[4] (a man that wished exceeding well to the Reformation), that, "if trentals and chantry-masses could avail the souls in purgatory, then did the Parliament not well in giving away colleges and chantries which served principally for that purpose. But if the Parliament did well in dissolving and bestowing them upon the King, (which he thought that no man could deny), then was it a plain case, that such chantries and private masses did confer no relief on the souls in purgatory." Which dilemma, though it were unanswerable, yet was the matter so handled by the Bishops, seeing how much the doctrine of the Church was concerned therein, that they brought him to a recantation at St Paul's Cross, in the June next following—(this sermon being preached in Lent)—where he confessed himself to have been seduced by naughty books, contrary to the doctrine then received in the Church[5]. But the current of these times went the other way, and Crome might now have preached that safely for which before he had been brought into so much trouble.

Act for the appointment of Bishops, 1 Edward VI. c. 2.

40. But that which made the greatest alteration, and threatened most danger to the state ecclesiastical, was the Act entitled "An Act for the election of Bishops, and what seals and styles shall be used by spiritual persons," &c. In which it was ordained—(for I shall only repeat the sum thereof)—that "Bishops should be made by the King's letters patent, and not by the election of the deans and chapters: that all

[1] Fuller, iii. 469.
[2] Fuller, iii. 468.
[3] A.D. 1545.
[4] Edd. "Cromer," here and below.
[5] Fox, ii. 572, ed. 1631.

their processes and writings should be made in the King's name only, with the Bishop's *teste* added to it; and sealed with no other seal but the King's, or such as should be authorised and appointed by him." In the compounding of which Act there was more danger couched than at first appeared. By the last branch thereof it was plain and evident, that the intent of the contrivers was by degrees to weaken the authority of the episcopal order, by forcing them from their stronghold of Divine institution, and making them no other than the King's ministers only,—his ecclesiastical sheriffs (as a man might say), to execute his will and disperse his mandates[1]. And of this Act such use was made, (though possibly beyond the true intention of it), that the Bishops of those times were not in a
52 capacity of conferring orders, but as they were thereunto empowered by special license. The tenor whereof (if Sanders be to be believed) was in these words following: viz. "The King to" such a Bishop "Greeting: Whereas all and all manner of jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, flows from the King, as from the supreme head of all the body, &c.—We therefore give, and grant to thee full power and license, to continue during our good pleasure, for holding ordination within thy diocese of *N.* and for promoting fit persons unto holy orders, even to that of the priesthood[2]." Which being looked on by Queen Mary not only as a dangerous diminution of the episcopal power, but an odious innovation in the Church of Christ, she caused this Act to be repealed in the first year of her reign;

An. Reg. 1, 1547.

[1] "By these letters patent it is clear, that the episcopal function was acknowledged to be of Divine appointment, and that the person was no other way named by the king than as lay patrons present to livings; only the bishop was legally authorized, in such a part of the king's dominions, to execute that function which was to be derived to him by imposition of hands. Therefore here was no pretence for denying that such persons were true bishops, and for saying, as some have done, that they were not from Christ, but from the king."—Burnet, II. 448. Compare, however, the remarks of Collier, v. 180.

[2] Although Sanders (p. 191) is correct in stating that such commissions were issued, he has greatly misrepresented the matter; for these instruments were not invented in this reign, but under Henry VIII., from whom they were taken by all the bishops—Bonner included; and they were discontinued soon after the beginning of Edward's reign.—Burnet, II. 11. Compare Wharton's Spec. of Errors, p. 52; Palmer on the Church, 1st ed. i. 470.

An.Reg.1, 1547. leaving the Bishops to depend on their former claim, and to act all things, which belonged to their jurisdiction, in their own names, and under their own seals, as in former times. In which estate they have continued, without any legal interruption, from that time to this.

41. But in the first branch there was somewhat more than what appeared at the first sight. For, though it seemed to aim at nothing but that the Bishops should depend wholly on the King for their preferment to those great and eminent places; yet the true drift of the design was to make deans and chapters useless for the time to come, and thereby to prepare them for a dissolution[1]. For, had nothing else been intended in it, but that the King should have the sole nomination of all the Bishops in his kingdoms, it had been only a reviver of an ancient power, which had been formerly invested in his predecessors and in all other Christian Princes. Consult the stories and records of the elder times, and it will readily appear, not only that the Roman Emperors of the House of France did nominate the Popes themselves[2]: but that, after they had lost that power, they retained the nomination of the Bishops of their own dominions[3]. The like done also by the German Emperors, by the Kings of England, and by the ancient Kings of Spain[4]:—the investiture being then performed *per Annulum et Baculum*, as they used to phrase it; that is to say, by delivering of a ring, together with a crosier or pastoral staff, to the party nominated. Examples of which practice are exceeding obvious in all the stories of those times. But the Popes, finding at the last how necessary it was, in order to that absolute power which they ambitiously affected over all Christian Kings and Princes, that the Bishops should depend on none but them, challenged this power unto themselves:—declaring it in several petit councils for no less than simony, if any man should receive a Bishoprick from the hands of his own natural Prince[5]. From

[1] Burnet argues against this supposition.—II. 309.

[2] Mason, de Ministerio Anglicano, L. IV. c. 8, pp. 466-7.

[3] Ib. c. 12. [4] Ib. c. 11.

[5] Ib. p. 495. Gregory VII. declared lay investitures to be idolatry and simony.—Platina de Vitis Pontificum, 175. Comp. Inett, Origines Anglicanæ, ii. 98-9.

hence those long and deadly quarrels begun between Pope Hildebrand and the Emperor Henry the Fourth, and continued by their successors for many years after; from hence the like disputes in England, between Pope Urban the Second and King William Rufus, between Pope Innocent and King John; till in the end the Popes prevailed both here and elsewhere and gained the point unto themselves, but so that, to disguise the matter, the election of the future Bishop was committed to the Prior and Convent, or to the Dean and Chapter, of that Cathedral wherein he was to be installed. Which, passing by the name of free elections, were wholly, in a manner, at the Pope's disposing. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

42. The point thus gained, it had been little to their profit if they had not put the same in execution. Which being done by Pope Innocent the Fourth, in consecrating certain English Bishops at Lyons in France without the King's knowledge and consent, it was observed by Matthew Paris[1] to be dishonourable to the King, and of great damage to the kingdom. So much the more, by how much the mischief grew more common, and the design concealed under that disguise became more apparent: which plainly was, that, being bound unto the Pope in the stricter bonds, and growing into a contempt of their natural King, they might the more readily be inclined to work any mischief in the kingdom[2]. The danger whereof being considered by King Edward the First, he came at last to this conclusion with the Popes then being: that is to say, that the said Priors and Convents, or the said Deans and
53 Chapters, as the case might vary, before they proceeded to any election, should demand the King's writ of *congé d'eslire;* and, after the election made, to crave his royal assent unto it, for confirmation of the same[3]. And so much was avowed by the

[1] Matt. Paris. in Hen. III., an. 1245. *Author.* [The consecration is related at p. 661, ed. Lond. 1640; where it is said—"Et sic regis et regni ipsius, regis peccatis exigentibus, dignitas vacillabat."]

[2] Ut magis ei tenerentur obligati, et, contempto Rege, fierent in damnum regni promptiores, p. 192. *Author.* [This reference does not agree with the edition just quoted].

[3] After a considerable search, and after having called in the assistance of a friend far more conversant with such inquiries than myself, I am unable to verify this statement. Thomassin, in giving a view of the history of appointments to bishopricks in England, says:

An. Reg. 1, 1547. letters of King Edward the Third to Pope Clement the Fifth. In which it was declared, that all the Cathedral Churches in England were founded and endowed by his progenitors[1]; and that therefore, as often as those Churches became void of a Bishop, they were filled again with fit persons by his said progenitors, as in their own natural and proper right. The like done by the French Kings to this very day[2], partly by virtue of the Pragmatical Sanction established at the Council of Basil, and partly by the *Concordat* between King Francis the First and Pope Leo the Tenth. And the like also challenged by the State of Venice, within the verge and territories of that republic; for which consult the English history of that State,

"Si quid memorandum occurrisset sub Edvardo I., non sane id in præteritis reliquisset Valsinghamus."—Vet. et nova Eccl. Disciplina;—De Benef. ii. 2. 34. 12. (t. v. p. 215. ed. Magont. 1787.) Perhaps Heylyn may have had in his mind the act of 9 Edw. II. c. 14—which, however, was not an agreement with the Pope, but a statute redressing certain grievances which had been represented by the clergy. It is desired in the *Articuli Cleri* "that the electors may freely make their election, without fear of any power temporal;" and the answer is, "They shall be made free, according to the form of statutes and ordinances."—(See Gibson, Codex, 200.) This Coke in his Institutes seems to regard as nothing more than a declaration that the statute of Westminster, 3 Edw. I. c. v., by which elections in general had been made free, was to be interpreted as applying to ecclesiastical elections, as well as others; but Bramhall interprets it as prescribing "that elections be made free, so as the King's *congé d'élire* be first obtained, and afterward the election be made good by the royal assent and confirmation." (i. 146, ed. Anglocath. Lib.) The editor remarks that the "form" mentioned in the Act is "determined to the conditions mentioned in the text [of Bramhall] by the charter of King John in 1214." That charter, indeed, (ap. Collier, ix. 33) makes the *congé d'élire* insignificant—"quam non denegabimus nec differemus; et si forte, (quod absit), denegaremus vel differremus, procedant nihilominus electores ad electionem canonicam faciendam;" but it establishes the royal approbation of the election as indispensable—only promising that it shall not be refused, "nisi aliquid rationabile proposuerimus, et legitime probaverimus, propter quod non debeamus consentire." The practice of England, and of "most Christian countries," had anciently been such as is described in the text.—Lingard, iii. 15.

[1] "Quas Ecclesias dicti progenitores nostri dudum, singulis vacationibus earundem, personis idoneis, jure suo regio, libere conferebant."—Apud Mason De Minist. Anglic. lib. iv. cap. xiii. p. 497. [ed. Lond. 1638.] *Author.*

[2] Mason, l. iv. c. 4. pp. 490-2.

Decad. 5, lib. 9, fol. 229[1]. So that, upon the whole matter, there was no innovation made as to this particular: but a restoring to the crown an ancient power, which had been naturally and originally in the crown before. But howsoever, having the appearance of an alteration from the received manner of electings in the Church of Rome, and that which was established by the late King for the realm of England, it was repealed by Queen Mary, and put into the former channel by Queen Elizabeth[2]. An. Reg. 1, 1547.

Ridley appointed Bishop of Rochester.

43. But from this alteration, which was made in Parliament, in reference to the manner of making Bishops, and the way of exercising their authority, when they were so made, let us proceed unto such changes as we find made amongst the Bishops themselves. The first whereof was the election of Doctor Nicholas Ridley to the see of Rochester: to which he had been nominated by King Henry the Eighth, when Holbeck, who preceded him, was designed for Lincoln. But, the King dying shortly after[3], the translation of Holbeck was deferred till the time of King Edward: which was no sooner done, but Ridley was chosen to succeed him; although not actually consecrated till the fifth of September[4]. A man of great learning, as the times then were, and for his excellent

[1] Fougasse's "History of the magnificent State of Venice, Englished by W. Shute, Gent." Lond. 1612.

[2] 1 Mar. Sess. 2. cap. 2. The present exemption of the Church from the operation of the Act of 1 Edw. VI., however, does not depend on the Act of Mary, which was repealed by 1 Jac. c. 25. §. 48. It was urged, in the fourth year of James I., that by that repeal the Act of Edward was revived; but the Judges decided that the statute 1 Eliz. c. 1., by reviving the statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20, re-established the ancient method of election and confirmation, and so repealed the Act of 1 Edw. VI.—Gibson, Codex, 132, 967; Burnet, II. 449; Collier, v. 230.

[3] The see of Lincoln was not vacant until some time after the death of Henry, as Bp. Longland lived until May 7, 1547. N. in Godwin, de Præsul. 300. It would appear, however, that his death had been expected, and that the promotions of Holbeach and Ridley were intended to follow on its taking place.—Ridley, ed. Park. Soc. Pref. p. v.

[4] The same date is given by Bp. Godwin, de Præsul. 537; but his editor states, on the authority of Cranmer's Register, that the consecration took place on Sept. 4. The *congé d'élire* in favour of Holbeck (or Holbeach) was issued on the 1st of August; he was elected on the 9th, and confirmed on the 20th.—Godw. p. 700.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. way of preaching highly esteemed by the late King; whose Chaplain he had been for many years before his death, and upon that only, designed to this preferment as the reward of his service. Being well studied in the Fathers, it was no hard matter for him to observe, that, as the Church of Rome had erred in the point of the Sacrament, so as well the Lutheran as the Zuinglian Churches had run themselves into some error by opposing the Papists: the one being forced upon the figment of consubstantiation; the other, to fly to signs and figures, as if there had been nothing else in the blessed Eucharist. Which being observed, he thought it most agreeable to the rules of piety, to frame his judgment to the dictates of the ancient Fathers: and so to hold a real presence of Christ's body and blood in the holy Sacrament, as to exclude that corporal eating of the same which made the Christian faith a scorn both to the Turks and Moors. Which doctrine as he stoutly stood to in all his examination at Oxford, when he was preparing for the stake, so he maintained it constantly in his sermons also, in which it was affirmed, that "In the Sacrament were truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, made forth effectually by grace and spirit[1]." And, being so persuaded in his own opinion, he so prevailed by discourse and argument with Archbishop Cranmer as to bring him also to the same, (for which consult the Acts and Mon. fol. [2]). A man of a most even and constant spirit, as he declared in all his actions; but in none more than in the opposition which he made against Bishop Hooper, in maintenance of the rites and ceremonies then by law established; of which we shall have opportunity to speak more hereafter.

Barlow translated to Bath and Wells.

44. In the next place, we are to look upon the preferment of Doctor Barlow to the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells; succeeding in the place of Knight, who died on the twenty-ninth of the same September. He had been once Prior of the monastery of Bisham, in the county of Berks: from whence preferred to the see of Asaph, in the end of Feb. an. 1535[6], and in the April following translated to the Church of St David's[3]. During his sitting in which see, he fell upon an 54

[1] Fox, vii. 523.

[2] Fox, viii. 57. The reference in the old editions is blank.

[3] Godwin, de Præsulibus, 642.

honest and convenient project for removing the episcopal see from the decayed city of St David's, most incommodiously situate in the remotest angle of all the diocese, to the rich borough of Caermarthen, in the midst thereof; in the chief Church whereof, being a monastery of Grey-Friars, the body of Edmund, Earl of Richmond, the father of King Henry the Seventh, received interment. Which project he presented to Cromwell, being then Vicar-General, endearing it by these motives and propositions: that is to say, that, being situate in the midst of the diocese, it was very opportune for the profiting of the King's subjects, for the preferment of God's word, for abolishing all antichristian superstition, and settling in the diocese the King's supremacy; that it was furnished with all things necessary for the convenience of the canons, and might be done without any prejudice to the friars, for every one of which he offered to provide a sufficient maintenance. And, to advance the work the more, he offered to remove his consistory thither, to found therein a grammar-school, and settle a daily lecture in divinity there, for the reducing of the Welsh from their ancient rudeness to the civility of the time. All which I find in the memorials of Sir Robert Cotton. And unto these he might have added, that he had a fair episcopal house at Abberguilly, very near that town: in which the Bishops of that diocese have for the most part made their dwelling. So that all parties seem to have been provided for in the proposition; and therefore the more to be admired, that, in a time so much addicted unto alterations, it should speed no better. For notwithstanding all these motives, the see remained where it was, and the Bishop continued in that see till this present year; in which he was made use of, amongst many others, by the Lord Protector, for preaching up the war against Scotland[1]. For which and many other good services already past, but more to be performed hereafter, he was translated to this see on the death of Knight: but the precise day and time whereof I have nowhere found[2]. But I have found, that, being

An. Reg. 1, 1547.

[1] Barlow probably had much to say on this subject, from his old acquaintance with Scotland. See above, p. 40.

[2] "Vigore literarum patentium Edwardi Sexti, Feb. 3, 1548, de advisamento Ducis Somersetensis, (Rym. Tom. xv. p. 169.) In cujus gratiam opulenta quædam maneria ab hac sede divulsa sunt eodem anno; necnon palatium episcopale in civitate Wellensi."—Godwin, de Præsul. 388.

An. Reg. 1, 1547. translated to this see, he gratified the Lord Protector with a present of eighteen or nineteen manors, which anciently belonged unto it; and lying, all or most part of them, in the county of Somerset, seemed very conveniently disposed of, for the better maintenance of the dukedom[1], or rather of the title, of the Duke of Somerset, which he had took unto himself. More of which strange donations we shall find in others: the more to be excused, because there was no other means, (as the times then were), to preserve the whole, but by advancing some part thereof to the spoil of others.

[1] The first meaning of this word is "The *seigniory* or *possessions* of a duke."—Johnson.

ANNO REGNI EDW. SEXTI 2.

ANNO DOM. 1547, 1548.

Ordersagainst certain Ceremonies, &c.

1. THE Parliament ending on the twenty-fourth day of December, (as before was said), seems to have put a stop to all public business; as if it had been done of purpose to give the great ministers of state a time of breathing. But no sooner was the year begun, (I mean the second year of the King[1]), but that a letter is sent from the Archbishop to Doctor Bonner, Bishop of London; requiring him, in the name of his Majesty and the Lords of his Council, to proceed unto the reformation of such abuses as were therein mentioned, and to give order for the like to the rest of the Suffragans. By ancient right, the Bishops of London are accounted Deans of the Episcopal College: and, being such, were by their place to signify the pleasure of their Metropolitan to all the Bishops
55 of the province, to execute his mandates, and disperse his missives on all emergency of affairs; as also to preside in convocations, or provincial synods[2], during the vacancy of the see, or in the necessary absence of the metropolitan. In which capacity, and not out of any zeal he had to the Reformation, Bishop Bonner, having received the Archbishop's letters, communicateth the contents thereof to the rest of the suffragan Bishops, and amongst others to Doctor Thomas Thirlby, then Bishop of Westminster, in these following words:

"My very good Lord,

"After my most hearty commendations, these are to advertise your good Lordship, that my Lord of Canterbury's Grace, this present 28th of January, sent unto me his letters missive, containing this in effect: that my Lord Protector's Grace, with advice of other the King's Majesty's honourable Privy Council, (for certain considerations them moving), are fully resolved that no candles shall be borne upon Candlemas-day, nor also from henceforth ashes or palms used any longer; requiring me thereupon, by his said letters, to cause admonition and know-

[1] The letter (Wilkins, iv. 23) is dated Jan. 27—which was the last day of Edward's *first* year.

[2] See Mary, i. 20.

An. Reg. 2, 1547—8. ledge thereof to be given unto your Lordship and other Bishops with celerity accordingly. In consideration whereof, I do send at this present these said letters to your good Lordship, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertisement thereof within your diocese, as appertaineth. Thus committing your good Lordship to Almighty God, as well to fare as your good heart can best desire.

"Written in haste at my house in London, the said 28th of January, 1547-8[1]."

2. Such was the tenor of this letter; the date whereof doth very visibly declare that the counsel was as sudden as the warning short. For, being dated on the 28th of January, it was not possible that any reformation should be made in the first particular, but only in the cities of London and Westminster, and the parts adjoining—the feast of Purification following within five days after. But yet the Lords drove on so fast, that before this order could be published in the remote parts of the kingdom, they followed it with another, (as little pleasing to the main body of the people), concerning Images; which in some places of the realm were either not taken down at all, as was required the year before by the King's injunctions, or had been re-advanced again as soon as the first heats of the visitation had began to cool. Which, because it cannot be expressed more clearly than in the letters of the Council to the Lord Archbishop, and that the reader be not troubled with any repetitions—I shall commit the narrative thereof to the letters themselves: which are these that follow—

Order against Images.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship: Where now of late, in the King's Majesty's visitation, amongst other godly injunctions, commanded generally to be observed through all parts of this his Highness' realm, one was set forth for the taking down of [all] such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings[2]:—Albeit that this said injunction hath in many parts of the realm been [well and] quietly obeyed and executed; yet in many other places much strife and contention hath risen, and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same:—Some men being so superstitious, or rather

[1] Fox, v. 716; Wilkins, iv. 30.

[2] "Conses," Edd. Heyl.

wilful, as they would, by their good wills, retain all such images still, though they have been most manifestly abused; [and in An. Reg. 2, 1547—8.
56 some places also the images, which by the said Injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again]; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not:—And, whilst these men go about[1] on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this image or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, and otherwise abused; parties[2] have in some places been taken in such sort as further inconveniencies be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time:—Considering therefore that almost in no place of this realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be clean taken away and pulled down already: to the intent that all contention, in every part of this realm, for this matter, may be clearly taken away, and the lively images[3] of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be things not necessary, and without the which the churches of Christ continued most godly many years:—We have thought good to signify unto you, that his Highness' pleasure, with the advice and consent of us, the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, is, That immediately upon sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away; but also by your letters signify unto the rest of the Bishops within your province this his Highness' pleasure, for the like order to be given by them, and every of them, within their several dioceses. And in the execution hereof, We require both you, and the rest of the said Bishops, to use such foresight as the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

EDW. SOMERSET.
HEN. ARUNDEL.
ANTH. WINGFIELD.
JOHN RUSSELL.
THOMAS SEIMOUR.
WILLIAM PAGET.

From Somerset-Place, the 21st[4] of Febr. 1547."

1 "Go on on," Edd. Heyl. 2 "Parts," Edd. Heyl.
3 "Image," Edd. Heyl.
4 Fox (v. 717) and Heylyn read "11th." Burnet in his History (II.

An. Reg. 2, 1547—8.

3. These quick proceedings could not but startle those of the Romish party, though none so much as Bishop Bonner; who, by his place, was to disperse those unwelcome mandates in the province of Canterbury. And though he did perform the service with no small reluctancy, yet he performed it at the last; his letter to the Bishop of Westminster, (his next neighbouring Bishop), not bearing date until the twentieth of that month[1]. Nor was Bishop Gardiner better pleased when he heard the news: who thereupon signified, in his letter to one Mr Vaughan, his great dislike of some proceedings had at Portsmouth, in taking down the images of Christ and his saints; certifying him withal, not only that "with his own eyes he had seen the images standing in all churches where Luther was had in estimation," but that Luther himself had "purposely written a book against some men which had defaced them[2]." And therefore it may well be thought that covetousness spurred on this business more than zeal: there being none of the images so poor and mean the spoil whereof would not afford some gold and silver, (if not jewels also), besides censers, candlesticks, and many other rich utensils appertaining to them. In which respect the commissioners hereto authorised were entertained in many places with scorn and railing; and the further they went from London, the worse they were handled. Insomuch, that one of them, called Body, as he was pulling down images in Cornwall, was stabbed into the body by a priest[3]. And though the principal offender was hanged in Smithfield[4], and many of his chief accomplices in other parts of the realm, which quieted all matters for a time, yet the next year the storm broke out more violently than 57
before it did: not only to the endangering of the peace of those western counties, but in a manner of all the kingdom.

4. Which great commotions the Council could not but foresee as the most probable consequents of such alterations,

123) says "the eleventh," but in his copy of the document, "21st," (II. ii. 189.)

[1] There must be some mistake here, since the real date of the order above given was Feb. 21, and Cranmer's letter, communicating it, is dated Feb. 24.—Wilkins, iv. 23. Comp. Fox, v. 718, and the Editor's note.

[2] Fox, vi. 26-7.

[3] Hayward, 292.

[4] July 7, 1548. Stow, 596.

especially when they are sudden and pressed too fast: there being nothing of which people commonly are so tender as they are of religion; on which their happiness dependeth, not only for this world, but the world to come. And therefore it concerned them, in point of prudence, to let the people see that there was no intention to abolish all their ancient ceremonies, which either might consist with piety or the profit of the commonwealth. And, in particular, it was held expedient to give the generality of the subjects some contentment, in a proclamation for the strict keeping of Lent, and the example of the Court in pursuance of it. For Doctor Glasier having broke the ice, (as before was said[1]), there was no scarcity of those that cried down all the observations of days and times; even to the libelling against that ancient and religious fast in most scandalous rhythms. Complaint whereof being made by Bishop Gardiner, in a letter to the Lord Protector, a proclamation was set out, bearing date in January[2], by which all people were commanded to abstain from flesh in the time of Lent; and the King's Lenten-diet was set out and served as in former times[3].

Latimer preaches at Court.

5. And now comes Bishop Latimer on the stage again. Being[4] a man of parts and learning, and one that seemed inclinable enough to a reformation, he grew into esteem with Cromwell, by whose power and favour with the King he was made Bishop of Worcester, an. 1535[5]; continuing in that See till, on the first of July, 1539, he chose rather willingly to resign the same than to have any hand in passing the Six Articles, then agitated in the convocation, and confirmed by Parliament[6]. After which time, either upon command or of his own accord,

[1] p. 80.

[2] Gardiner's letter is printed by Fox, ii. 717, ed. 1631. The proclamation, of date Jan. 16, is in Wilkins, iv. 20. There was also a proclamation issued Feb. 6, "against those that do innovate, alter, or leave down any rite or ceremony in the Church, of their private authority."—Ib. 21.

[3] Stow.

[4] The clause "Being.... reformation," appears to belong rather to the second, than to the first sentence of this paragraph; and the punctuation is now altered accordingly.

[5] Fox, vii. 46.

[6] Herbert, 220. Latimer stated in 1546, that he "left his bishoprick, being borne in hand by the Lord Cromwell, that it was his Majesty's pleasure he should resign it; which his Majesty after denied,

An. Reg. 2, 1547—8.

he forbore the pulpit for the space of eight whole years and upwards; betaking himself to the retiredness of a private life, but welcome at all times to Archbishop Cranmer, to whom the piety and plainness of the man was exceeding acceptable[1]. And possible enough it is, that, being sequestered from preaching and all other public acts of the ministration, he might be useful to him in composing the Homilies; having much in them of that plain and familiar style which doth so visibly shew itself in all his writings. On new year's day last past, being Sunday, he preached his first sermon at St Paul's Cross, (the first, I mean, after his re-admission to his former ministry[2]), and at the same place again, on that day se'nnight, and on the Sunday after also; and, finally, on the day of St Paul's Conversion, the twenty-fifth of that month[3]. By means whereof he became so famous, and drew such multitudes of people after him to hear his sermons, that, being to preach before the King on the first Friday in Lent, it was thought necessary that the pulpit should be placed in the King's privy garden, where he might be heard of more than four times as many auditors as could have thronged into the chapel[4]. Which, as it was the first sermon which was preached in that place, so afterward a fixed and standing pulpit was erected for the like occasions,—especially for Lent sermons on Sundays in the afternoon,—and hath so continued ever since till these later times.

The order of the Communion set forth in English.

6. Now whilst affairs proceeded thus in the court and city, some godly bishops and other learned and religious men were no less busily employed in the Castle of Windsor; appointed by the King's command to consult together about one

and pitied his condition."—Lingard, vi. 294, from State Pap. i. 849. Sanders, after stating, (as falsely as is usual with him), that Latimer was turned out of his bishoprick by Henry VIII. because he was suspected of heresy, and had eaten flesh on Good Friday, proceeds to describe him as follows, (p. 193): "Homo spiritu et sermone plane Lucianico; qui jocis, salibus, ac linguæ petulantiâ, (quâ omnes illius temporis sectarios facile superabat), vulgus imperitum multum dementaverat, ac ita fascinaverat, ut passim eum primum Anglorum Apostolum vocaverint."

[1] He is said to have been in the Tower until the accession of Edward.—Works, I. p. xii. ed. Park. Soc.

[2] i. e. of preaching; for he did not resume his episcopal charge.

[3] Stow, 595.

[4] Ibid.

uniform order for administering the holy Communion in the English tongue, under both kinds, of bread and wine, according to the act of parliament made in that behalf[1]. Which persons so convened together—(if, at the least, they were the same which made the first Liturgy of this King's time, as I think they were)—were these who follow: that is to say, Thomas
58 Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, and afterwards Lord Chancellor; Henry Holbeck, Bishop of Lincoln; George Day, Bishop of Chichester; John Skip, Bishop of Hereford; Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster; Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester; Richard Cox, Almoner to the King, and Dean of Christ Church; Doctor May, Dean of St Paul's; Doctor Taylor, then Dean (after Bishop) of Lincoln; Doctor Heyns, Dean of Exeter; Doctor Robertson, afterwards Dean of Durham; Doctor Redman[2], Master of Trinity College in Cambridge[3]. Who being thus convened together, and taking into consideration as well the right rule of the Scripture as the usage of the primitive Church, agreed on such a form and order as might comply with the intention of the King and the act of parliament, without giving any just offence to the Romish party. For they so ordered it, that the whole office of the mass should proceed, as formerly, in the Latin tongue, even to the very end of the canon, and the receiving of the Sacrament by the Priest himself. Which being passed over, they began with an exhortation in the English tongue, directed to all those which did intend to be partakers of the holy Communion. Which Exhortation, beginning with these words, "Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye coming to this holy Communion," &c., is, in effect, the last of those which

An. Reg. 2, 1547—8.

[1] Sup. p. 99.

[2] Edd. "Ridley."

[3] Fuller, iv. 27. "To this list Burnet adds the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Carlisle, Bristol, and St David's; and this larger number is approved by Collier (ii. 243, = v. 246) on the authority of some papers belonging to Bp. Stillingfleet. It is not improbable that the larger number was appointed in the first instance, in the year 1547, when the Order of the Communion was to be drawn up, and was afterwards reduced to the commission mentioned by Strype [Fuller, and Heylyn] when the object was to compose a Book of Common Prayer."—Cardwell, Liturgies of Edw. VI., Pref. p. xi. Comp. Tierney's note on Dodd, ii. 291.

An. Reg. 2, 1547—8. afterwards remained in the public Liturgy. Then followed the Invitation, thus: "You, that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins," &c., proceeding to the general Confession, the Absolution, the comfortable sentences out of holy Scripture, and so unto the Prayer of humble Access[1]—"We do not presume to come to this [Thy] table," &c.: the distribution of the Sacrament to the people present, continuing still upon their knees, and finally, dismissing them in "the peace of God." Which godly form[2], being presented to the King and the Lords of the Council, and by them exceeding well approved, was published on the 8th of March, together with his Majesty's proclamation authorising the same, and commanding all his loving subjects to conform unto it, in this manner following:

"By the King.

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland in earth the supreme Head: To all and singular our loving subjects Greeting. For so much as in our High Court of Parliament, lately holden at Westminster, it was by us, with the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons there assembled, most godly and agreeably to Christ's holy institution, enacted, That the most blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ should from thenceforth[3] be commonly delivered and ministered unto all persons within our realm of England and Ireland and other our dominions under both kinds, that is to say, of bread and wine, (except necessity otherwise require), lest every man fantasying and devising a sundry way by himself in the use of this most blessed Sacrament of unity, there might thereby arise any unseemly or ungodly diversity: Our pleasure is, by the advice of our most dear uncle the Duke of Somerset, governor of our person and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects, and other [of] our Privy Council, that the said blessed Sacra-

[1] Edd. "address."

[2] It is reprinted in Sparrow's Collection, L'Estrange's Alliance, Wilkins' Concilia, Cardwell's Liturgies, Clay on the Common Prayer, and the Parker Society's edition of K. Edward's Liturgies. The last of these has been followed in the corrections.

[3] Edd. 1, 2. "henceforth."

ment be ministered unto our people only after such form and An. Reg. 2,
59 manner as hereafter by our authority, with the advice before 1547—8.
mentioned, is set out or declared: willing every man with due reverence and Christian behaviour to come to this holy Sacrament and most blessed Communion; lest that, by the unworthy receiving of such high mysteries, they become guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and so eat and drink their own damnation: but rather diligently trying themselves, that they [may] so come to this holy table of Christ, and so be partakers of this holy Communion, that they may dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in them. And also, with such obedience and conformity to receive this our ordinance and most godly direction, that we may be encouraged from time to time further to travail for the Reformation, and setting forth of such godly orders as may be most to God's glory, the edifying of our subjects, and for the advancement of true religion. Which[1] thing we (by the help of God) most earnestly intend[2] to bring to effect: willing all our loving subjects in the meantime to stay and quiet themselves with this our direction, as men content to follow authority (according to the bounden duty of subjects), and not enterprising to run before, and so by their rashness become the greatest hinderers of such things as they, more arrogantly than godly, would seem (by their own private authority) most hotly to set forward. We would not have our subjects so much to mislike[3] our judgment, so much to mistrust our zeal, as though we either could[4] not discern what were to be done, or would not do all things in due time. God be praised! we know both what by his Word is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind, by the advice of our most dear uncle and other of our privy council, with all diligence and convenient speed so to set forth the same as it may most stand with God's glory, and edifying and quietness of our people: which we doubt not but all our obedient and loving subjects will quietly and reverently tarry for[5]."

7. The next care was to see the said order put in execution: of which the Lords of the Council discharged the King, and

[1] "is the," inserted in Heylyn.
[2] Edd. Heyl. "endeavoured." Cardw. Liturg. p. 426, "intended."
[3] Ed. Heyl. "mistake." [4] Edd. Heyl. "would."
[5] Wilkins, iv. 11.

An. Reg. 2, 1548. took the whole burden on themselves. For, causing a sufficient number of the printed copies to be sent to each Bishop in the realm, they therewithal directed letters to them, requiring, and in his Majesty's name commanding them, and every of them, "to have an earnest diligence and careful respect, both in their own persons and [by] all their officers and ministers, for causing the said books to be so delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate, in their several dioceses, that they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves for the distribution of the most holy Communion, according to the order of the said book, before Easter following: and that, by the good means of them (the said Bishops) they may be well directed to use such good, gentle, and charitable instructions to their simple and unlearned parishioners, as may be to their good satisfaction." Letting them further know, that "as the said order was set forth to the intent there should be in all parts of this realm, and among all men, one uniform manner quietly used; so that the execution thereof did very much stand in the diligence of them, and others of their vocation, who therefore were again required to have a diligent respect unto it, as they tendered the King's pleasure, and would answer the contrary[1]." Which letter, bearing date on the 13th of March, was subscribed by the Archbishop Cranmer, the Lord Chancellor Rich, the Earl of Arundel, the Lords St John and Russell, Mr Secretary Petre, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Edward North, and Sir Edward Wotton. In obedience unto whose commands, as all the Bishops did not perform their parts alike—(Gardiner of Winchester, Bonner of London, Voysie of Exeter, and Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield, being more backward than the rest) —so many parish Priests, not being willing to advance so good a work, laboured to disaffect the people to the present Government. And to that end, it was endeavoured in their sermons to possess their auditors with an ill opinion of the King; as if he did intend to lay strange exactions on the subject, by forcing them to pay half-a-crown a-piece for every one who should be married, christened, or buried. For remedy whereof it was ordered by proclamation, bearing date the 24th of April, that none should be permitted to preach but such as were licensed

Opposition to it.

60

[1] Fox, v. 719.

under the seals of the Lord Protector, or the Archbishop of Canterbury[1]. An. Reg. 2, 1548.

8. In the next place we must attend the King's commissioners, dispatched in the beginning of March[2] into every shire throughout the realm, to take a survey of all colleges, free-chapels, chantries, and brotherhoods, within the compass of the statute, or Act of Parliament[3]. According to the return of whose commissions it would be found no difficult matter to put a just estimate and value on so great a gift, or to know how to parcel out, proportion, and divide the spoil betwixt all such who had before in hope devoured it. In the first place, as lying nearest, came in the free-chapel of St Stephen, originally founded in the palace at Westminster, and reckoned for the chapel-royal of the Court of England. The whole foundation consisted of no fewer than thirty-eight persons, viz.: one dean, twelve canons, thirteen vicars, four clerks, six choristers, besides a verger, and one that had the charge of the chapel[4]. In place of whom a certain number were appointed for officiating the daily service in the royal chapels—(gentlemen of the chapel they are commonly called)—whose salaries, together with that of the choristers and other servants of the same, amounts to a round yearly sum: and yet the King, if the lands belonging to that chapel had been kept together and honestly laid unto the Crown, had been a very rich gainer by it; the yearly rents thereof being valued at £1085 10*s.* 5*d.* As for the chapel itself, together with a cloister of curious workmanship built by John Chambers, one of the King's physicians and the last master of the same, they are still standing as they were: the chapel having been since fitted and employed for a House of Commons, in all times of Parliament[5]. Execution of the Act for seizing chantries, &c.

[1] "So that now no Bishop, except the Archbishop of Canterbury, might license any to preach in his own diocese, nay, nor might preach himself without license; so have I seen licenses to preach granted to the Bishop of Exeter, ann. 1551, and to the Bishops of Lincoln and Chichester, ann. 1552."—Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 90. Strype does not, however, print the proclamation of April 24. For other orders as to preachers, see Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. app. O; Burnet, II. ii. 189; Cardwell, Doc. Ann. Vol. I. Nos. vii. xi. xiii.; also below, §. 18.

[2] Stow, 595. The commission is printed by Burnet, II. ii. 216.

[3] Sup. p. 102.

[4] Stow's Survey of London, 523.

[5] Ib. 524. The reader is aware that St Stephen's chapel, with other buildings, was destroyed by fire in 1834.

An. Reg. 2, 1548.

9. At the same time also fell the college of St Martin's, commonly called St Martin's-le-Grand, situate in the city of London, not far from Aldersgate: first founded for a dean and secular canons, in the time of the Conqueror, and afterwards privileged for a sanctuary; the rights whereof it constantly enjoyed without interruption till all privilege of sanctuary was suppressed in this realm by King Henry the Eighth[1]. But the foundation itself being now found to be superstitious, it was surrendered into the hands of King Edward the Sixth; who after gave the same, together with the remaining liberties and precincts thereof, to the church of Westminster: and they, to make the best of the King's donation, appointed, by a chapter held the 7th of July, that the body of the church, with the quire and aisles, should be leased out for fifty years, at the rent of five marks per annum, to one H. Keeble of London[2]; excepting out of the said grant the bells, lead, stone, timber, glass, and iron, to be sold and disposed of for the sole use and benefit of the said dean and chapter. Which foul transaction being made, the church was totally pulled down; a tavern built in the east part of it; the rest of the site of the said church and college, together with the whole precinct thereof, being built upon with several tenements, and let out to strangers[3]; who very industriously affected to dwell therein (as the natural English since have done), in regard of the privileges of the place, exempted from the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, and governed by such officers amongst themselves as are appointed thereunto by the chapter of Westminster[4].

Spoliation of the church of Westminster.

10. But for this sacrilege the church of Westminster was called immediately, in a manner, to a sober reckoning. For the Lord Protector, thinking it altogether unnecessary that two cathedrals should be founded so near one another, and thinking that the church of Westminster (as being of a late foundation) might best be spared, he cast a longing eye upon the

[1] 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12. A.D. 1541.

[2] Probably son of Sir Henry Keeble, Lord Mayor in 1511, who was very munificent in contributing towards church-building. See Stow's Survey, 89, 577; Fuller's Worthies, i. 31. ed. 1811.

[3] Stow, Survey, 330.

[4] See Stow's Survey, 917, seqq. for the privileges of the place.

goodly patrimony which remained unto it. And, being then An. Reg. 2, 1548.
61 unfurnished of an house or palace proportionable unto his greatness, he doubted not to find room enough, upon the dissolution and destruction of so large a fabric, to raise a palace equal to his vast designs. Which coming to the ears of Benson, the last Abbot and first Dean of the church, he could bethink himself of no other means to preserve the whole, but by parting for the present with more than half the estate which belonged unto it. And thereupon a lease is made of seventeen manors and good farms, lying almost together in the county of Glocester, for the term of ninety-nine years; which they presented to the Lord Thomas Seymour, to serve as an addition to his manor of Sudely: humbly beseeching him to stand their good lord and patron, and to preserve them in a fair esteem with the Lord Protector. Another present of almost as many manors and farms, lying in the counties of Glocester, Worcester, and Hereford, was made for the like term to Sir John Mason, a special confidant of the Duke's—not for his own, but for the use of his great master; which, after the Duke, all came to Sir John Bourn, principal Secretary of Estate in the time of Queen Mary. And yet this would not serve the turn, till they had put into the scale their manor of Islip, conferred upon that church by King Edward the Confessor, to which no fewer than two hundred customary tenants owed their suit[1] and service: and, being one of the best wooded things in those parts of the realm, was to be granted also without impeachment of waste[2]: as it was accordingly. By means whereof the Deanery was preserved for the later times; how it succeeded with the Bishoprick we shall see hereafter. Thus Benson saved the Deanery, but he lost himself; for, calling to remembrance that formerly he had been a means to surrender the Abbey, and was now forced on the necessity of dilapidating the estate of the Deanery, he fell into a great disquiet of mind, which brought him to his death within few months after. To whom succeeded Doctor Cox, being then Almoner to the King, Chancellor of the

[1] Edd. "soil."

[2] For documents relating to the spoliation of Westminster, and the dissolution of the Bishoprick, see Monast. Anglic. i. 321, seqq.

An. Reg. 2, 1548.

University of Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church; and afterwards by Queen Elizabeth preferred to the see of Ely.

Impoverished state of the Clergy.

11. I had not singled these two,—I mean St Martin's and St Stephen's,—out of all the rest, but that they were the best and the richest in their several kinds, and that there was more depending on the story of them than of any others. But bad examples seldom end where they first began. For the nobility and inferior gentry possessed of patronage, considering how much the lords and great men of the court had improved their fortunes by the suppression of those chantries and other foundations which had been granted to the King, conceived themselves in a capacity of doing the like, by taking into their hands the yearly profits of those benefices, of which by law they only were entrusted with the presentations. Of which abuse complaint is made by Bishop Latimer, in his printed sermons. In which we find, "That the gentry of that time invaded the profits of the Church, leaving the title only to the incumbent;" and "That chantry Priests were put by them into several cures, to save their pensions:" (p. 38[1]). "That many benefices were let out in fee-farms," (p. 71[2]) or "given unto servants for keeping of hounds, hawks, and horses, and for making of gardens;" (pp. 91, 114[3]). And finally, "That the poor Clergy, being kept to some sorry pittances, were forced to put themselves into gentlemen's houses, and there to serve as clerks of the kitchen, surveyors, receivers," &c. (p. 241[4]). All which

[1] Vol. i. pp. 122-3, ed. Park. Soc. The Act 1 Edw. VI. c. 14. directed that the chantry-priests should be pensioned out of the revenues of the foundations to which they had been attached (§. ii.); but the pension was to cease on the promotion of the priest to a benefice of greater value, (§. xvi.)

[2] Ib. i. 203. "The patron, when presenting to a benefice, reserved to himself and heirs a certain portion of the income of the living. The granting of pensions out of rectories was also a practice of long standing.—Pegge, Life of Grossetete, p. 77." Note on Latimer, by Prof. Corrie.

[3] "What do you, patrons? Sell your benefices, or give them to your servants for their service, for keeping of hounds or hawks, for making of your gardens."—i. 290.

[4] ii. 24, 37. It is, however, only the last words that are found in either of these passages, and Latimer's attack is in both directed against

enormities, (though tending so apparently to the dishonour of God, the disservice of the Church, and the disgrace of religion,) were generally connived at by the Lords and others, who only had the power to reform the same; because they could not question those who had so miserably invaded the Church's patrimony without condemning of themselves[1]. An. Reg. 2, 1548.

12. Thus leaving England for a while, we are to take a short survey of affairs in Scotland, into which the French had put ten thousand soldiers, (three thousand of them being Almains,) under the command of Monsieur D'Essie[2], who, joining with the Scots, laid siege before the town of Haddington, on St Peter's eve[3]. For the relief whereof, a strength 62 of one thousand three hundred horse was sent from Berwick, under the conduct of Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer; who, falling very unfortunately into the hands of the enemy, were for the most part slain or taken[4]. The English notwithstanding made good the town, and held it out so long, that in the end the Earl of Shrewsbury, with a power of sixteen thousand men, (of which there were four thousand Lansquenets, or German soldiers), appeared in sight. On whose approach, the enemy withdrew themselves and raised their siege, on or about the twentieth day of August; giving great commendation to the English garrison for the notable service they had done in defence of the town. The siege being raised, the Earl of Shrewsbury with his forces returned for Affairs of Scotland.

the *clergy*, because while "they have the living of fishers of men," they prefer secular occupations.

[1] The poverty, even of the highest order among the clergy, appears from a letter of Cranmer to Cecil, July 21, 1552. "As for the saying of St Paul, 'Qui volunt ditescere, incidunt in tentationem,' I fear it not half so much as I do stark beggary. For I took not half so much care for my living, when I was a scholar of Cambridge, as I do at this present .... and if I knew any Bishops that were covetous, I would surely admonish him; but I know none, but all beggars, except it be one [Holgate, Abp. of York]; and yet I dare well say he is not very rich."—Cranm. Works, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 437.

[2] Andrew de Montalembert, Sieur d'Essé. The whole force is said by Tytler to have amounted to 6000 men, and landed at Leith, June 16.—Hist. Scotl. vi. 44. Comp. Lesley, 468. There are other discrepancies between the Scotch and the English writers in estimating the forces on each side.

[3] Stow, 595.

[4] Hayward, 291.

An. Reg. 2, 1548. England, leaving the town well stored with victuals, and plentifully furnished with all manner of ammunition, which put the soldiers of the garrison into so good heart that they made many sallies out, and frequently skirmished with the French and Scots, whom they found quartered in the villages and towns adjoining. But, the matter being taken into debate by the Council of England, it was resolved, especially by those who secretly envied at the power and greatness of the Lord Protector, that the keeping of the town would not quit the cost,—as being farthest from the borders, and not to be relieved, if it were distressed, without the raising and employing of a royal army. And thereupon the Earl of Rutland was sent thither with three thousand of the Lansquenets, and as many borderers: who, coming to the town on the twentieth of September, sleighted the works, and, having destroyed the houses, caused all the ordnance and carriages to be sent to Berwick, and returned without battle[1]. The voluntary quitting of which town drew after it the loss of all the pieces which we held in Scotland.

13. The English forces being removed from the town of Haddington, the French immediately prepared for their going homewards, carrying a richer lading with them than all the arms and ammunition which they brought at their coming. For, while the army lay at the siege at Haddington, the ministers of the French King were busy in treaty with the Scots, for putting the young Queen into their power, transporting her into France, and marrying her unto the Dauphin. But in this point they found the Council much divided. Some thought that the conditions offered by the Lord Protector[2], (not till then generally known), were to be embraced; in regard it gave them an assurance of ten years' peace at the least, and that, if either of the Princes died within that time, they should be left at liberty to order the affairs of that kingdom to the most advantage[3]. But against this it was alleged by those of the opposite party, (whom the French King had bought with ready money and annual pensions) that, as long as the Queen remained amongst them, they should never be free from the pretensions of the English; from which there was no question

[1] Stow, 596; Lesl. 481; Godw. 129. [2] Sup. p. 91.
[3] Godwin, Ann. 128. Comp. Sleidan, b. xx. p. 454.

but they would desist, when they saw the ground thereof to be taken away by the Queen's removal. Of which party, (besides those which were corrupted by the gold of France), were the Bishops and Clergy; who, being zealous for the preservation of their old religion, abominated nothing more than the alliance with England. And so the matter being carried in behalf of the French, and there being now no further need of them for defence of the country, they gave order to make ready their shipping, and nominated a set day for their departure. Which day being come, they coasted about Scotland, by the isles of Orkney, took in the young Queen at Dun-britton castle, and, passing through St George's Channel, arrived in Bretaigne, whilst a strong squadron of the English attended for their coming in the narrow seas[1]. An. Reg. 2, 1548.

14. But this departure of the French, though it much weakened[2], did not disanimate the Scots for making trial of their fortune against the English. Hume castle, and Fast castle remained, (amongst some others), as thorns in their sides; but they regained them both this year. Hume castle they surprised by means of some of their own nation; who, being reputed friends, and suffered to have free and frequent
63 access unto it, had opportunity both to discover the weaknesses of it, and by what ways it might most easily be taken. And, being more cordially affected to their old countrymen than their new acquaintance, they directed a select number of soldiers to some secret passages; by which, having first climbed up a very steep rock, they found an entrance into the castle, put the secure garrison to the sword, and possessed the place, leaving a fair warning unto all others, "never to trust the courtesies or services of those whom they have provoked to be their enemies[3]." Fast castle they surprised by a warlike stratagem. For the governor having

[1] Heylyn is mistaken in connecting the removal of the young Queen with the return of the foreign auxiliaries to France. It was effected while the siege of Haddington was in progress; and she arrived at Brest on the 13th of August.—Tytler, vi. 45; Godwin, 128-9; Lesley, 470.

[2] On the contrary, they had received from France a reinforcement of 1000 foot and 300 horse.—Tytler, vi. 469. Holinshed, iii. 985, states that Thermes arrived before D'Essé's departure.

[3] Hayward, 291. Comp. Lesley, 476; Godw. 129.

An. Reg. 2, 1548. commanded the neighbouring villages at a prefixed day to bring in their contribution of corn and other necessary provision, the enemy makes use of this opportunity. Soldiers, habited like peasants, came at the day, fraught with their burthens; whereof having eased their horses, they carry them on their shoulders over the bridge which joined two rocks together, and so gained entrance: the watch-word being given, they cast down their burthens, till the sentinels open the gates to their fellows, and become masters of the place[1]. The news of which surprisals, together with that of the Queen's removal, being brought into the court of England, which then began to be divided into sides and factions, there was no further care taken for the prosecution of the Scottish war: which for the present much refreshed that impoverished kingdom.

Bishop Gardiner opposes the Reformation.

15. Now while these traverses of war were made in Scotland, there was no solid peace, though no open discord, in the Church of England. It hath been shewed[2] that Bishop Gardiner, having long lain prisoner in the Fleet, was, on the morrow after Twelfth-day last, restored to liberty and permitted to return unto his diocese. Where, contrary to the promise made at his enlargement, he began to shew himself displeased with the King's proceedings in the case of images. Concerning which he wrote a long letter to the Lord Protector, on the 21st of May[3], and backed it with another of the 6th of June[4]; and otherwise appeared so cross to the King's designs, that he was sent for to the court, and after some reproofs dismissed unto his house in Southwark, where he was commanded to remain until further order. But there also he behaved himself with much unquietness, meddling in many matters which concerned the King; for which he had neither warrant nor commission: whereof being once again admonished by their lordships[5], he did not only promise to conform himself like a good subject, but to declare his conformity to the world, in an open sermon, in sundry articles agreed upon; that such as were offended might be satisfied in him. St Peter's day, then near

[1] Godwin, 129.
[2] Sup. p. 83.
[3] Fox, vi. 30.
[4] Ib. 36.
[5] The Protector's letter of admonition, dated June 28, is printed by Fox, vi. 86; Wilkins, iv. 28.

at hand, was given him for the day whereon he was to preach this sermon. In which, though he allowed the Sacrament to be administered in both kinds, and shewed his approbation of the King's proceedings in some other points, yet in the rest he gave such little satisfaction to the King and council, that the next day he was sent prisoner to the Tower, where he remained till his enlargement by Queen Mary[1]. An. Reg. 2, 1548.

16. The punishment of this great prelate did not so much discourage those of the Romish party as his example animated and emboldened them to such inconformity as gave no small disturbance to the King's proceedings. For, notwithstanding his great care to set forth one uniform order of administering the holy Communion in both kinds, yet so it happened, that (through the perverse obstinacy and froward dissembling of many of the inferior priests and ministers of cathedral and other churches of this realm), there did arise a marvellous schism and variety of factions in celebrating the Communion-service, and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church. For some, zealously allowing the King's proceedings, did gladly follow the order thereof; and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them: but many, causelessly contemning them all, would still continue in their former Popery. Divisions on religion.

[1] "In his sermon (of which I have seen large notes) he expressed himself very fully concerning the Pope's supremacy as justly abolished, and the suppression of monasteries and chantries; he approved of the King's proceedings; he thought images might have been well used, but yet they might be well taken away. He approved of the sacrament in both kinds, and the taking away that great number of masses satisfactory, and liked well the new order for the communion. But he asserted largely the presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament.... Of the King's authority under age, and of the power of the council in that case, he said not a word: and upon that he was imprisoned. The occasion of this was, the popish clergy began generally to have it spread among them, that, though they had acknowledged the King's supremacy, yet they had never owned the council's supremacy; that the council could only see to the execution of the laws and orders that had been made, but could not make new ones; and that therefore the supremacy could not be exercised, till the King, in whose person it was vested, came to be of age to consider of matters himself."—Burnet, II. 70. Edward in his journal dates the commital of Gardiner to the Tower on St Peter's day.—Ib. ii. 7. A report of the sermon is given by Fox, vi. 87-93.

An. Reg. 2, 1548. Besides, it is observed in the register-book of the parish of Petworth, "that many at this time affirmed the most blessed Sacrament of the altar to be of little regard; that in many 64
places it was irreverently used, and cast out of the church, and many other great enormities committed: which they seconded by oppugning the established ceremonies, as holy water, holy bread, and divers other usages of the seven Sacraments[1]."

An English Liturgy projected.

17. And yet these were not all the mischiefs which the time produced. For, in pursuance of this schism, and to confirm the people in their former ways, many of those which had been licensed in form and manner prescribed by the proclamation of the 24th of April[2], appeared as active in preaching against the King's proceedings as any of the unlicensed preachers had been found to be. Which being made known unto the King and the lords of the council, it was advised that a public Liturgy should be drawn and confirmed by parliament; with several penalties to be inflicted on all those who should not readily conform to the rules and appointments of it. For, though some ill-affected men might look upon the late Order for administering the Holy Sacrament in the English tongue as the act of some few persons about the King, and not proceeding really from the King himself: yet, when the King's pleasure came to be declared by act of parliament, it was to be presumed that (all such subterfuges and evasions being taken away), the subjects would conform unto it without further trouble. Which being thus resolved upon, he caused those godly Bishops and other learned divines whom he had formerly employed in drawing up the Order for the Holy Communion, to attend his pleasure on the first day of September then next following. Attending at the day appointed, it pleased his Majesty to commend unto them the framing of a public Liturgy, which should contain the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, together with a Form of ministering the Sacraments and Sacramentals, and for the celebrating of all other public offices which were required by the Church of good Christian people. Which as his Majesty commanded out of a most religious zeal to the honour of God, the edification of his

[1] I have endeavoured in vain to procure information on the subject of the register here quoted.

[2] Sup. p. 123.

subjects, and to the peace and happiness of his dominions; so they (who knew no better sacrifice than obedience) did cheerfully apply themselves to the undertaking. An. Reg. 2, 1548.

18. And, that they might proceed therein not only with the less disquiets but with the greater hope of gaining their desired end, it pleased his Majesty to declare by his proclamation, bearing date the twenty-third day of the said month of September, into what course he had put this business: letting them know, "that for the settling of an uniformity and order throughout his realm, and for putting an end to all controversies in religion, he had caused certain godly Bishops and other notable learned men to be congregated, or called together." And thereupon doth infer, "that, notwithstanding many of the preachers formerly licensed had behaved themselves very discreetly and wisely to the honour of God and the contentation of his Highness; yet till such time as the said order should be generally set forth throughout the realm, his Majesty did thereby inhibit all manner of persons, whatsoever they be, to preach in open audience, in the pulpit or otherwise, by any sought colour or fraud, to the disobeying of his commandment." And this he did to this intent—"that the whole clergy in the mean space might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God, for the better achieving of this same godly intent and purpose; not doubting but that all his loving subjects in the mean time would occupy themselves to God's honour, with due prayer in the church, and patient hearing of the godly homilies heretofore set forth by his Highness' Injunctions: and so endeavour themselves that they may be the more ready with thankful obedience to receive a most quiet, godly, and uniform order, through all his said realms and dominions. And to the end that his Majesty's pleasure in the premises should be the more punctually obeyed, he willeth and requireth all his loving officers and ministers, as well justices of the peace as mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, or any other his officers, of what state, degree, and condition soever they be, to
65 be attendant upon this proclamation and commandment; and to see the infringers and breakers thereof to be imprisoned; and his Highness, or the Lord Protector's grace, or his Majesty's Council, to be certified thereof immediately, as they ten-

An. Reg. 2, 1548. dered his Majesty's pleasure, and would answer to the contrary at their perils[1]."

19. And here it is to be observed, that those who had the chief directing of this weighty business were beforehand resolved that none but English heads or hands should be used therein; lest otherwise it might be thought, and perhaps objected, that they rather followed the example of some other Churches, or were swayed by the authority of those foreign assistants, than by the Word of God, and the most uncorrupted practice of the primitive times. Certain it is, that, upon the very first reports of a Reformation here intended, Calvin had offered his assistance to Archbishop Cranmer; as himself confesseth. But the Archbishop knew the man, and refused the offer[2]. And it appears in one of Bishop Latimer's sermons, that there was report, about this time, of Melanchthon's coming[3]; but it proved only a report. And, though it was thought necessary, for the better seasoning of the universities in the protestant reformed religion, that Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr[4], two eminent divines of the foreign Churches, should

[1] Fuller, iv. 32-34; Wilkins, iv. 30. Burnet, II. 167, is disposed to question the genuineness of this document, but apparently without ground.—See Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i. 58.

[2] "Si quis mei usus fore videbitur, ne decem quidem maria, si opus sit, ob eam rem trajicere pigeat."—(Calv. Epp. p. 61.) We know from Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, (p. 13,) that this passage was the ground of his statement as to Calvin's offer. He appears to have been ignorant that the letter in which it occurs was written so late as 1552, and in answer to one from Cranmer. (Ed. Jenkyns, i. 347.) Dr Jenkyns observes, (Pref. civ.) that the story of Cranmer's refusal is hardly to be reconciled with his letter to Calvin. If the learned editor of Cranmer had been aware of the authority on which Heylyn founded the earlier part of his statement, he would probably not have hesitated to reject the latter part, as a mistaken inference of our author. "Nevertheless," as Dr Cardwell observes, (Pref. to Liturgies of Edward, p. xxxii.) "Calvin's peculiar opinions were not approved by the leading Reformers in England."

[3] i. 141, ed. Park. Soc.

[4] There is a curious passage in a letter of Froschover, (Orig. Letters, p. 725, Park. Soc. 1847). "In this respect the English are, in my opinion, justly worthy of censure, that they are endeavouring to draw away from Germany its men of learning, that they may be able to live at ease themselves; for, if we diligently look into the facts, we shall

be invited to come over, yet the Archbishop's letter of invitation, sent to Martin Bucer, was not written till the twelfth day of October[1]. At what time the Liturgy then in hand, being the chief key to the whole work of reformation, was in very good forwardness; and must needs be completely finished, before he could so settle and dispose his affairs in Germany as to come for England. And though Peter Martyr, being either more at leisure, or less engaged, or otherwise more willing to accept of the invitation, came many months before the other: yet neither do we find him here till the end of November[2], when the Liturgy had been approved of by the King and council, if it had not also passed the approbation of both houses of parliament. Nor was it likely that they should make use of such a man in composing a Liturgy wherein they were resolved to retain a great part of the ancient ceremonies: who, being made Canon of Christ-church in Oxford, and frequently present at divine service in that church, could never be prevailed with to put on the surplice[3]. An. Reg. 2, 1548.

20. Being left therefore to themselves, they were at the more liberty for following the King's most godly and most wise directions: having in the first place "an eye and respect to the most sincere and pure religion, taught by the Scripture;" and, in the second, to "the usages of the primitive Church:" and making out of both, "one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, to be had and used in the realm of England and the principality of Wales[4]." Which being finished, they all The first book of Common Prayer completed.

find that they have men of higher talent for the most part than the Germans".—("illis ferme præclariora quam Germanis esse ingenia videbimus."—Epp. Tigur. 470.)

[1] Oct. 2, according to the copies in Bucer, Scripta Anglic. Basil. 1577, p. 191; Cranmer, ed. Jenkyns, i. 336.

[2] Martyr arrived in November 1547—a year earlier than Heylyn supposes. A Lasco was also in England in October 1548, before the meeting (Nov. 24) of the convocation by which the Liturgy was considered. There is not, however, any ground for supposing that they or other foreigners had any influence on the composition of the Book.—Cardwell, Pref. to Liturgies of Edw. VI. p. xii. Comp. Orig. Letters, 187.

[3] See below, Edw. iv. 17.

[4] These are in general the words of the act.

An. Reg. 2, 1548.

subscribed their names unto it, but Day of Chichester[1]; who would by no means have his hand in the subscription, as is related in the register book of the parish of Petworth. But, being subscribed by all the rest, it was by them, with all due reverence, humbly presented to the King; by whom it was received "to his great comfort and quietness of mind," as the statute[2] telleth us. And being by him commended to the Lords and Commons, then assembled in parliament—(which parliament took beginning on the fourth day of November)—they did not only "give his Highness most hearty and lowly thanks for his care therein," but, on perusal of the book, declared it to be done "by the aid of the Holy Ghost." And thereupon, "considering the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies, in the said book mentioned, and also the reasons of altering those things which be altered, and the retaining of those things which be retained; together with the honour of God, and the great quietness which, by the grace of God, was likely to ensue on such an uniform order in Common Prayer, rites, and external ceremonies, to be used in all England and Wales, in Calice, and the marches of the same"—it was enacted—"that all, and singular ministers, in any cathedral, or parish-church, or other place, within this realm of England, Wales, Calice, and the marches of the same, or other the 66
King's dominions, should, from and after the feast of Pentecost, next coming,"—(that interval being given for the printing of it)—"be bounden to say and use the Matins, Even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, commonly called the Mass, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and no otherwise:" with several penalties therein mentioned, to be imposed on all such, in their several places, as either should wilfully refuse to officiate by it or hinder the lawful execution of it, or speak any thing in derogation of the said book, or any thing therein contained.

Public service ought to be in the vulgar tongue[3].

21. The passing of this act gave great offence to those of the Romish party: not that they could except against it, in

[1] "Sed Richardus Cicestriensis, (ut ipse mihi dixit,) non subscripsit."—Lib. Petw. *Author.* [See above, p. 132. note. 1.]

[2] Act 2 Edw. vi. [c. 1.] *Author.*

[3] The argument on this subject is repeated from the "*Ecclesia Vin-*

regard either of the manner or matter of it, (which they acknowledged to be consonant to the ancient forms), but because it was communicated to the people in the vulgar tongue. And this they charged as a great error in those men who had the chief hand in the conduct of that affair; because that, by the rules thereof, the Scriptures were to be read publicly in the English tongue. "Which, what else was it," (as they said) "but the committing so much heavenly treasure unto rotten vessels? the trusting so much excellent wine to such musty bottles?" And, being that there are many things in the divine offices of the Church *quæ secreta esse debent*, as the Cardinal telleth us[1], which ought to have been kept as secrets from all vulgar knowledge,—it must needs be of very ill consequence to communicate them to all sorts of people. But certainly the Holy Ghost was able to direct the Church in a better way than such as should be subject unto man's exceptions; and he directs the service of the Church to be officiated in such a language to which the ignorant and unlearned may say Amen. (1 Cor. xiv. 9, 16[2]). Upon which words it is observed by Lyra and Aquinas, two as great clerks as any in the Church of Rome, that "the public service of the Church, in the primitive times, was in the common vulgar language[3]." The like affirmed by Doctor Harding, as great a stickler for that Church and the doctrines of it as any other of his time: adding withal, "that it was necessary in the primitive times, that it should be so;" and granting also, "that it were still better, that the people had their service in their own vulgar tongue, for their better understanding of it." So he, in answer to the Challenge made by Bishop Jewel, Art. iii. Sect. 28, and 33[4]. And therefore having the confession and acknowledgment of the very adversary, not only as to the antiquity, but the fitness also, of celebrating divine offices in the vulgar language, it may be thought a loss both of time and travail to press the argument any further. An. Reg. 2, 1548.

22. Which notwithstanding, for the more perfect clearing

dicata," (Heylyn's Tracts); the substance of it being originally taken from Jewel against Harding, Art. III.

[1] Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, l. ii. c. 5. (Opp. i. 120, ed. Colon. Agr. 1620).

[2] Jewel, ed. Park. Soc. i. 264.

[3] Ib. 289.

[4] Ib. 317, 325.

An. Reg. 2, 1548. of the point in question, it will be found upon a very easy search that the Jews did celebrate their divine offices, *Tractatus*, and *Oblationes* (as the father hath it), most commonly in the Syriac, and sometimes in the Hebrew tongue, the natural languages of that people; as is affirmed by St Ambrose, upon 1 Cor. cap. xiv., and out of him by Durand, in his *Rationale*[1]. Eckius, a great servant of the Popes, affirmeth in his Common Places, "that the Indians have their service in the Indian tongue[2];" and that St Hierome, having translated the whole Bible into the Dalmatic, procured that the service should be celebrated in that language also[3]. The like St Hierome himself, in his epistle to Heliodorus, hath told us of the Bessi, a Sarmatian people[4]. The like St Basil, in his epistle to the Neo-Cæsarians, assures us for the Egyptians, Libyans, Palestinians, Phœnicians, Arabians, Syrians, and such as dwell about the bank of the river Euphrates[5]. The Ethiopians had their Missal, the Chaldeans theirs, each in the language of their countries[6]; which they still retain: so had the Moscovites of old, and all the scattered Churches of the Eastern parts; which they continue to this day. Nay, rather than the people should be kept in ignorance of the Word of God, and the divine offices of the Church, a signal miracle should be wrought to command the contrary. For we are told of the Sclavonians, by Æneas 67
Sylvius, (who, being afterwards Pope, was called Pius the Second), that, being converted unto the faith, they made suit unto the Pope, then being, to have their public service in their natural tongue: but some delay being made therein by the Pope and Cardinals, a voice was heard, seeming to have come from heaven, saying in the Latin tongue, *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum, et omnis lingua confiteatur ei:* that is to say, "Let every soul praise the name of God, and every tongue or language make profession of it;" whereupon their desires were granted without more delay[7]. Which probably might be a chief inducement to Innocent the Third, to set out a decree in the Lateran Council, importing, that in all such cities in which

[1] Ib. 289-290. [2] Ib. 289.
[3] Ib. 270, where the language in question is called "lingua Sclavonica," "the Sclavon tongue."
[4] Ib. 290. [5] Ibid. [6] Ib. 268-270.
[7] Ib. 291.

there was a concourse of divers nations, and consequently of different languages,—(as in most towns of trade there doth use to be)—the service should be said, and Sacraments administered, *secundum diversitates nationum, et linguarum*[1]: that is, "according to the difference of their tongues and nations." So that, if we consider the direction of the Holy Ghost, the practice of the primitive times, the general usage of all nations not enthralled to the Popes of Rome, the confession of the very adversary, the act and approbation of the Pope himself, and finally, the declaration of God's pleasure by so great a miracle:—the Church did nothing in this case but what was justifiable in the sight both of God and man. An. Reg. 2, 1548.

23. But then again it is objected on the other side, that neither the undertaking was advised, nor the book itself approved, in a synodical way, by the Bishops and Clergy: but that it was the act only of some few of the Prelates, employed therein by the King or the Lord Protector, without the privity and approbation of the rest. The consideration whereof shall be referred to another place; when we shall come to speak of the King's authority for the composing and imposing of the Scottish Liturgy[2].

24. In the mean time we must take notice of another act, of as great importance for the peace and honour of the Church, and the advancing of the work of Reformation; which took away those positive laws by which all men in holy orders were restrained from marriage. In which statute it is first declared, that it were much to be desired that Priests, and all others in holy orders, might abstain from marriage, that, thereby being freed from the cares of wedlock and abstracted from the troubles of domestical business, they might more diligently attend the ministry, and apply themselves unto their studies. But then withal it is considered, that, as all men have not the gift of continence, so many great scandals and other notable inconveniences have been occasioned in the Church by the enforced necessity of a single life in those admitted unto orders. Which seeing it was no more imposed on them than on any other by the Word of God, but only [by] Act permitting the marriage of the Clergy, 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 21.

[1] Ib. with *rituum* for *nationum*.

[2] See the book called *Cyprianus Anglicus*, [Heylyn's Life of Laud, published posthumously] lib. iv. an. 1637. [p. 307, ed. 1671]. *Author.*

An. Reg. 2, 1548. such positive laws and constitutions as had been made to that effect by the Church of Rome; it was therefore enacted by the authority of the present parliament, that "all such positive laws and ordinances as prohibited the marriages of Priests, or any other in holy orders, and pains and forfeitures therein contained, should be utterly void." Which act, permitting them to marry, but looked on as a matter of permission only, made no small pastime amongst those of the Romish party:—reproaching both the Priests, and much more their wives, as not lawfully married, but only suffered to enjoy the company of one another without fear of punishment[1]. And thereupon it was enacted in the parliament of the fifth or sixth of Edw. VI. cap. 12, that the marriages of the Priests should be reputed lawful, themselves being made capable of being tenants by courtesy[2], their wives to be endowed, as others, at the common law, and their children heritable to the lands of their fathers, or mothers. Which privileges, or capacities rather, (notwithstanding the repeal of this statute in the time of Queen Mary), they and their wives and children still enjoyed without disturbance, or dispute.

25. And to say truth, it was an act, not only of much Christian piety, but more civil prudence: the Clergy by this means being taken off from all dependance on the Popes of 68
Rome, and rivetted in their dependance on their natural Princes, to whom their wives and children serve for so many hostages. The consequence whereof was so well known to those of Rome, that, when it was desired by the Ambassadors of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, in the Council of Trent, that marriage might be permitted to the Priests in their several territories, it would by no means be admitted. The reason was—because that, having houses, wives, and children, they would depend no longer upon the Pope, but only on their several Princes; that the love to their children would make

[1] On the evils resulting from the equivocal position of clergymen's wives, see Haweis, Sketches of the Reformation, c. iv.

[2] "*Courtesy of England.* A tenure by which, if a man marry an heritrix, that is, a woman seised of land, and getteth a child of her, that comes alive into the world; though both the child and his wife die forthwith, yet, if he were in possession, shall he keep the land during his life, and is called *tenant per legem Angliæ*, or *by the courtesy of England*."—Johnson, (from Cowell).

them yield to many things which were prejudicial to the Church, and in short time confine the Pope's authority to the city of Rome[1]. For otherwise, if the Popes were not rather governed in this business by reason of state than either by the Word of God or the rules of piety, they had not stood so stiffly on an inhibition accompanied with so much scandal, and known to be the only cause of too much lewdness and impurity in the Roman Clergy. If they had looked upon the Scriptures, they would have found that marriage was a remedy ordained by God for the preventing of incontinencies and wandering lusts; extending generally to all, as much to those in holy orders as to any others,—as being subject all alike to human infirmities. If they had ruled the case by the proceedings[2] of the Council of Nice, or the examples of many good and godly men in the primitive times, they would have found, that, when the single life of Priests was moved at that great Council, it was rejected by the general consent of all the Fathers there assembled, as a yoke intolerable[3]; that Eupsychius, a Cappadocian Prelate, was married after he had taken the degree of a Bishop[4]; the like observed of one Phileas[5], an Egyptian prelate; and that it is affirmed by Hierome, that many Priests in his time had their proper wives[6]. Had they consulted with the stories of the middle times, when Priests were forced to put away their wives by the Pope's commandment, or else to lose the benefices which they were possessed of;—they would have found what horrible confusions did ensue upon it in all the kingdoms of the West, what tragical exclamations were made against the Popes for so great a tyranny[7]. Or, finally, if they had looked upon the scandalous effects which this forced celibate produced, they could not but have heard some news of Pope Gregory's fish-

An. Reg. 2, 1548.

[1] Sarpi, Hist. of Council of Trent, p. 680.

[2] Ed. 3, "proceeding." [3] Jewel, ed. Jelf, iv. 577, 610.

[4] Ib. 108-109, 584-8. Jewel argues against Harding, that Eupsychius was a Bishop, although in the place where his martyrdom is mentioned he is only styled by Sozomen (v. 11) *Εὐψύχιον Καισαρέα Καππαδοκῶν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν.*

[5] Jewel, iv. 587. Edd. Heyl. read "Phileus."

[6] I have not observed in Jewel any quotation from St Jerome which is exactly to this effect; but there are several which imply the fact.

[7] Jewel, iv. 614.

An. Reg. 2, 1548. pond[1]: and must have been informed in their own Panormitan, that the greatest part of the Clergy were given over to prohibited lusts[2]; and by others of their canonists, that Clerks were not to be deprived for their incontinency—considering, how few there were to be found without it[3]: so universal was the mischief, that it was thought uncapable of any remedy.

26. If we desire to be further informed in it, as a matter doctrinal, we shall find many eminent men in the Church of Rome to state the point in favour of a married Clergy. By Gratian it is said, that the marriage of Priests is neither prohibited by the law, or any precept in the Gospel, or any canon of the Apostles[4]. By Cardinal Cajetan, that it can neither be proved by reason nor good authority that a Priest committeth any sin by being married. By the same Cajetan, that orders, neither in themselves, nor as they are accompanied by the title of holy, are any hindrances or obstructions in the way of marriage[5]. By Panormitan, [that] the celibate, or the single life of Priests, is neither of the essence of holy orders, nor required by the law of God[6]. By Antoninus[7], that there is nothing in the episcopal function which can disable the Bishop from the married life. By the author of the Gloss upon the Decrees, that the Greek Priests neither explicitly nor implicitly do bind themselves to chastity or a single life[8]. By Pope Pius[9] himself, in the Council of Basil, that many might be saved in a married Priesthood, which are in danger to be damned by living unmarried. By Durand, that it would be profitable to the Church, if marriage were allowed to Priests, from whom it hath been found a very vain thing to look for chastity[10]. And finally, by Martinus[11], that it seemed fit to many good and godly men, that all laws for compelling a single life should be wholly abrogated, for the avoiding of 69

[1] For an exposure of this absurd story, (which is not mentioned by Jewel), see Maitland's Letters on Fox, No. x.

[2] Jewel, iv. 617. [3] Ib. 616. [4] Ib. 574.

[5] Ib. [6] Ib.

[7] Ib. Edd. Heyl. read "Antonius." [8] Ib. 582.

[9] Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius). Jewel, iv. 616. [10] Ib. 617.

[11] [Martinus Peiresius]. "Multis piis visum est, ut leges de cœlibatu tollerentur propter scandalum [*r.* scandala]." *Author.* [Dr Jelf observes that "this is the *substance* of Peiresius' observation."—Note in Jewel, iv. 617.]

those scandals which ensued upon it. For all which passages, together with the words of the several authors in the Latin tongue, I shall refer the reader to the learned and laborious works of Bishop Jewel, in the Defence of his Challenge against Doctor Harding, cap. viii. 1, 3[1]. And so I shut up this discourse, and therewith the defence of this Act of parliament, with the most memorable apophthegm of the said Pope Pius, viz. "that the law had taken away Priests' wives, and the devil had given them concubines to supply their places[2]." An. Reg. 2, 1548.

27. Two other Acts were passed in this present parliament, exceeding necessary for the preservation of the Church's patrimony and the retaining of good order. The first was made for the encouragement and support of the parochial Clergy, in the true payment of their tithes, lately invaded by their patrons, and otherwise in danger to be lost for ever by the avariciousness of the parishioners, as before was said[3]. For remedy whereof, it was enacted, "that no person or persons should from thenceforth take or carry away any tithe or tithes, which had been received or paid within the space of forty years next before the date thereof, or of right ought to have been paid, in the place or places tithable in the same, before he hath justly divided or set forth for the tithe thereof the tenth part of the same, or otherwise agree for the same tithes with the parson, vicar, or other owner, proprietary, or farmer of the same, under the pain of forfeiture of the treble value of the tithes so taken or carried away." To which a clause was also added, enabling the said parsons, vicars, &c. to enter upon any man's land for the due setting out of his tithes and carrying away the same, without molestation; with other clauses no less beneficial to the injured Clergy. And, because the revenue of the Clergy had been much diminished by the loss of such offerings and oblations as had been accustomably made at the shrines of certain images, now either defaced or re- Act for the payment of tithes, 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 13.

[1] The Defence of the *Challenge* is named by mistake for the Defence of the *Apology*.—Jewel, ed. Jelf, iv. 543-619.

[2] I have not observed this in Jewel; but he quotes another observation of Pius II., that "as marriage was taken away from priests upon great considerations, even so now upon other greater considerations it were to be restored to them again."—iv. 611. The same is given by Platina, (De Vitis Pontificum, 331, ed. Col. Agr. 1568,) who does not mention the saying in the text.

[3] Sup. p. 126.

An. Reg. 2, 1548. moved, it was thought meet to make them some amends in another way. And thereupon it was enacted, "that every person exercising merchandises, bargaining and selling, clothing, handy-craft, and other art and faculty, being such kind of persons, and in such places, as heretofore, within the space of forty years then before past, have accustomably used to pay such personal tithes, or of right ought to pay, (other than such as been[1] common day-labourers), shall yearly, at or before the feast of Easter[2], pay for his personal tithes the tenth part of his clear gains; his charges and expenses, according to his estate and condition or degree, to be there allowed, abated, and deducted:" with a proviso for some remedy to be had therein before the ordinary, in the case of tergiversation or refusal. But the power of the Bishops and other ordinaries growing less and less, and little or no execution following in that behalf, this last clause proved of little benefit to those whom it most concerned; who, living for the most part in market-towns, and having no predial tithes to trust to, are thereby in a far worse condition than the rural Clergy.

Act for abstinence from flesh, 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 19.

28. There also passed another Act, for abstinence from flesh upon all such days as had been formerly taken and reputed for fasting-days. By which it was enjoined, that, for the better subduing of the body to the soul, and the flesh to the spirit, as also for the preservation of the breed of cattle, the encouragement of mariners, and increase of shipping, all manner of persons should abstain from eating flesh upon the days there named; that is to say, all Fridays and Saturdays in the year, the time of Lent, the Ember-days, the eves or vigils of such saints as had been anciently used for fasts by the rules of the Church[3]. An Act or ordinance very seasonable as the case then stood, the better to beat down the neglect of all days and times of public fastings;—which Doctor Glasier[4] had cried up, and his followers had pursued in contempt of law.

Farrar consecrated bishop of St David's.

29. And here I should have closed this year, but that I am to remove some errors about the time of Doctor Farrar's

[1] Edd. Heyl. "the."

[2] Edd. here insert a second "shall."

[3] See Neale on Feasts and Fasts, pp. 344, 350-352.

[4] Sup. p. 80.

consecration to the see of St David's—put off by Bishop Godwin to the following year 1549[1], and ante-dated by the Acts and Monuments to the fifth day of December in the year foregoing, anno 1547[2]. But by neither rightly. For, first, I find on good record that Knight[3] departed not this life till Michaelmas-day, anno 1547; at what time, and for some time after, Doctor Barlow, who succeeded Knight, was actually Bishop of St David's; and therefore Farrar could not be consecrated to that see some weeks before. I find again in a very good author, that Doctor Farrar was the first Bishop made by letters patents, without capitular election: which could not be till after the end of the last year's parliament; because till then the King pretended not to any such power of making Bishops[4]. And, thirdly, if Bishop Barlow had not been translated to the see of Wells till the year 1549, as Bishop Godwin saith he was not; it must be Barlow, and not Farrar, who first enjoyed the benefit of such letters patents: because Barlow must first be removed to Wells, before the church of St David's was made void for Farrar[5]. So that, the consecration of Farrar to the see of St David's being placed by the canons of that church, (in an information made against him), on the fifth[6] of September; it must be on the fifth of September in this present year: and neither in the year 1547, as the Acts and Monuments make it, nor in the year 1549, as in Bishop Godwin. An. Reg. 2, 1548.

[1] De Præsul. 585. (Heylyn sometimes writes the Bishop's name *Farrars*.)

[2] Fox, iii. 203, ed. 1631.

[3] Bp. of Bath and Wells since 1541.—Godw. 387.

[4] See p. 104.

[5] Confusion has arisen from neglect of a distinction between the two cases. Farrar was, as is stated in the margin of Cranmer's Register, (Strype, Cranm. ii. 106, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.) the first Bishop *consecrated* without capitular election (Sept. 9, 1548.—Ibid. and Richardson's n. on Godwin, 585); but Barlow had before been *translated* without election (Feb. 3, 1547-8.—Richardson in Godw. 388.)

[6] The information in Fox, iii. 203, merely states that he was "consecrated in September, 1547," without specifying the day of the month.

An. Reg. 3, 1548—9.

ANNO REGNI EDW. SEXTI 3.

ANNO DOM. 1548, 1549.

Account of Lord Seimour.

1. THERE remains yet one act of this parliament, which we have not spoke of; but of a different nature from all the rest: I mean the act for the attainder of the Lord Thomas Seimour—whose tragedy came on but now, though the ground thereof was laid in the former year. The occasion, much like that of the two great ladies in the Roman story, concerning whom it is related by Herodian[1], that, when the Emperor Commodus was unmarried, he permitted his sister Lucilla, whom he had bestowed on Pompeianus, a right noble senator, to have a throne erected for her on the public theatre, fire to be borne before her when she walked abroad, and to enjoy all other privileges of a Prince's wife. But when Commodus had married Crispina, a lady of as great a spirit, though of lower birth, Lucilla was to lose her place, and to grow less in reputation than before she was. This so tormented her proud heart, when she perceived that nothing could be gained by disputing the point, that she never left practising one mischief on the neck of another, till she had endangered the young Emperor's life; but utterly destroyed herself, and all those friends whom she had raised to advance her interest. Which tragedy, (the names of the actors being only changed), was now again played over in the court of England.

2. Thomas Lord Seimour, being a man of lofty aims and aspiring thoughts, had married Queen Katharine Parr, the relict of the King deceased[2]; who, looking on him as the brother of the Lord Protector, and being looked on as Queen dowager in the eye of the court, did not conceive that any lady could be so forgetful of her former dignity as to contend about the place. But therein she found herself deceived; for

[1] Lib. i. c. 8. This illustration is borrowed from Godwin's Annals, p. 132.

[2] He had been a suitor to her when widow of Lord Latimer, before her marriage with Henry.—Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 132.

the Protector's wife, a woman of most infinite pride, and of a nature so imperious as to know no rule but her own will, would needs conceive herself to be the better woman of the two. For if the one were widow to the King deceased, the other thought herself to stand on the higher ground, in having all advantages of power above her[1]. An. Reg. 3, 1548—9.

3. "For what," said she within herself, "am not I wife to the Protector, who is King in power, though not in title; a Duke in order and degree; Lord Treasurer, and Earl Marshal, and what else he pleaseth; and one who hath ennobled
71 his highest honours by his late great victory? And did not Henry marry Katharine Parr in his doting days; when he had brought himself to such a condition by his lusts and cruelty that no lady who stood upon her honour would adventure on him? Do not all knees bow before me, and all tongues celebrate my praises, and all hands pay the tribute of obedience to me, and all eyes look upon me as the first in state; through whose hand the principal offices in the court, and chief preferments in the Church, are observed to pass? Have I so long commanded him who commands two kingdoms? And shall I now give place to her who, in her former best estate, was but Latimer's widow, and is now fain to cast herself for support and countenance into the despised bed of a younger brother? If Mr Admiral teach his wife no better manners, I am she that will; and will choose rather to remove them both,—(whether out of the court or out of the world, shall be no great matter)—than be out-shined in my own sphere, and trampled on within the verge of my jurisdiction."

4. In this impatiency of spirit, she rubs into the head[2] of

[1] Hayward, 301-2. Strype in his notes on Hayward, and Burnet (II. ii. 550), say that the story of a quarrel between the wives of the Protector and his brother has no better authority than Sanders, (p. 218). Fox states that they quarrelled, "upon what occasion, I know not."—(vi. 283). Speed, that their dispute was "for place and precedency, as report hath divulged."—(p. 837). Comp. Fuller, ed. Brewer, iv. 76, note; Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 38, as to the probability of such an origin of the differences between the brothers.

[2] "She rubbed into the Duke's dull capacity, that the Lord Sudely, dissenting from him in opinion of religion, sought nothing more than to take away his life."—(Hayward, 301). Perhaps Hayward may not have meant to represent the allegation of a difference in religion as true; it certainly was not so.

An. Reg. 3, 1548—9. the Duke her husband, (over whom she had obtained an absolute mastery), how much he was despised by the Lord Admiral for his mildness and lenity: what secret practices were on foot, in the court and kingdom, to bring him out of credit with all sorts of people: what store of emissaries were employed to cry up the Lord Admiral, as the abler man: and finally, that, if he did not look betimes about him, he would be forthwith dispossessed of his place and power, and see the same conferred on one of his own preferring. This first begat a diffidence in the Duke of his brother's purposes; which afterwards improved itself to an estranging of affection, and at last into an open breach. But before matters could proceed to the last extremity, the Queen died in child-birth, (which happened September last, 1548[1]), being delivered of a daughter, who afterwards was christened by the name of Mary[2]. A lady of a mild and obliging nature, honoured by all the court for her even behaviour, and one who in this quarrel had been merely passive—rather maintaining what she had, than seeking to invade the place which belonged not to her.

5. And here the breach might have been closed, if the Admiral had not run himself into further dangers by practising to gain the good affections of the Princess Elizabeth[3]. He was, (it seems), a man of a strange ambition in the choice of wives, and could not level his affections lower than the bed of a Princess. For an essay whereof he first addressed himself to the Lady Mary, Duchess of Richmond and Somerset, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and widow of Duke Henry before mentioned[4], the King's natural brother. But, she being of too high a spirit to descend so low, he next applied himself to the widow Queen, whom he beheld as double jointured—one who had filled her coffers in the late King's time, and had been gratified with a legacy of four thousand pounds in plate, jewels, and money; which he had means enough to compass, though all other debts and legacies should remain unpaid. And on the other side, she looked on him as one of the peers of the realm, Lord Admiral by office, uncle to the King, and brother to the Lord Protector, with whom

[1] Stow, 596.

[2] The daughter died soon after.—Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 130.

[3] Godwin, Ann. 132.

[4] Sup. p. 11.

she might enjoy all content and happiness which a virtuous lady could desire. And that they might appear in the greater splendour, he took into his hands the episcopal house belonging to the Bishop of Bath and Wells; which, being by him much enlarged and beautified, came afterwards to the possession of the Earls of Arundel: best known of late times by the name of Arundel-house[1]. And so far all things went on smoothly betwixt him and his brother, though afterwards there was some distrust between them; but this last practice gave such an hot alarm to the Duchess of Somerset, that nothing could content her but his absolute ruin. For what hope could she have of disputing the precedence with any of King Henry's daughters—who, if they were not married
72 out of the realm, might create many troubles and disturbances in it? Nor was the Lord Protector so insensible of his own condition, as not to fear the utmost danger which the effecting of so great an enterprise might bring upon him: so that the rupture, which before had begun to close, became more open than before,—made wider by the artifices of the Earl of Warwick, who, secretly playing with both hands, exasperated each of them against the other, that so he might be able to destroy them both.

An. Reg. 3, 1548—9.

6. The plot being so far carried on, the Admiral was committed to the Tower, on the sixteenth of January, but never called unto his answer, it being thought safer to attaint him by act of parliament[2], where power and faction might prevail, than put him over to his peers in a legal way. And, if he were guilty of the crimes which I find charged upon him in the bill of attainder, he could not but deserve as great a punishment as was laid upon him. For in that act he stands condemned for "attempting to get into his custody the person of the King, and the government of the realm: for obtaining many offices, retaining many men into his service: for making great provision for money and victuals: for endeavouring to marry the Lady Elizabeth, the King's sister, and for persuading the

He is attainted and executed.

[1] Stow, Survey, 489.

[2] Brought into the House of Lords, Feb. [15. or] 25; passed, Feb. 27; brought into the lower house, Feb. 28; read a third time, March 4; received the royal assent, March 5.—Strype, n. on Hayw. 302; Burnet, II. 204-5.

An. Reg. 3, 1548—9.

King, in his tender age, to take upon him the rule and order of himself[1]." But, parliaments being governed by a fallible spirit, the business still remaineth under such a cloud, that he may seem rather to have fallen a sacrifice to the private malice of a woman than the public justice of the state. For, the bill of attainder passing at the end of the parliament, which was on the fourteenth day of March, he was beheaded at Tower-hill on the sixth day after,—(the warrant for his execution coming under the hand of his own brother[2],)—at what time he took it on his death, that he "had never committed or meant any treason against King or kingdom[3]." Thus, as it is affirmed of the Emperor Valentinian, that, by causing the right noble Ætius to be put to death, he had cut off his right hand with his left[4]; so might it be affirmed of the Lord Protector, that, when he signed that unhappy warrant, he had with his right hand robbed himself of his greatest strength. For, as long as the two brothers stood together, they were good support unto one another; but now, the one being taken away, the other proved not substantive enough to stand by himself, but fell into his enemies' hands within few months after. Comparing them together, we may find the Admiral to be fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent[5]; the Duke to be mild, affable, free, and open, more easy to be wrought upon, and no way malicious: the Admiral generally more esteemed amongst the nobles; the Duke honoured by the common people: the Lord Protector, to be more desired for a friend; the Lord Admiral, to be more feared for an enemy. Betwixt them both, they might have made one excellent man; if, the

[1] Hayward, 303. The articles against Seimour, with his answers, are printed by Burnet, II. ii. 223-232.

[2] It is dated March 17, and was signed by the Protector, with others of the Council.—(Burnet, II. ii. 233). See Tytler's "Edward and Mary," for Seimour's guilt, and also for a vindication of the Protector's fraternal character. He "for natural pity's sake desired leave to withdraw" from the House of Lords, while the bill of attainder was under consideration.

[3] Stow, 596.

[4] Gibbon, c. xxxv. vol. iv. p. 318, ed. Oxf. 1827. Hayward uses the expression of Somerset, but without referring to the case of Valentinian.

[5] Hayward, 301. He adds "but somewhat empty of matter."

defects of each being taken away, the virtues only had remained. An. Reg. 3, 1549.

7. The Protector, having thus thrown away the chief prop of his house, hopes to repair that ruin by erecting a magnificent palace. He had been bought out of his purpose for building on the deanery and close of Westminster, and casts his eye upon a piece of ground in the Strand, on which stood three episcopal houses, and one parish-church: the parish-church dedicated to the Virgin Mary; the houses belonging to the Bishops of Worcester, Litchfield, and Landaff[1]. All these he takes into his hands,—the owners not daring to oppose, and therefore willingly[2] consenting to it. Having cleared the place, and projected the intended fabric, the workmen found that more materials would be wanting to go through with it than the demolished church and houses could afford unto them. He thereupon resolves for taking down the parish-church of St Margaret's in Westminster, and turning the parishioners, for the celebrating of all divine offices, into some part of the nave or main body of the abbey-church, which would be marked out for that purpose. But the workmen had no sooner advanced their scaffolds, when the parishioners gathered together in great multitudes, with bows
73 and arrows, staves and clubs, and other such offensive weapons; which so terrified the workmen, that they ran away in great amazement, and never could be brought again upon that employment[3]. Building of Somerset-house.

8. In the next place, he is informed of some superfluous, or rather superstitious, buildings on the north side of St Paul's: that is to say, a goodly cloister, environing a goodly piece of ground, called Pardon Church-yard, with a chapel[4] in the midst thereof, and beautified with a piece of most curious workmanship, called the Dance of Death; together with a fair charnel-house, on the south side of the church,

[1] Stow, Survey, 490.

[2] Qu. "*un*willingly?"

[3] "It is constantly affirmed that he intended to pull down the church of St Margaret in Westminster, and that the standing thereof was preserved only by his fall."—Hayward, 303.

[4] This chapel was originally "builded by Gilbert Becket, portgrave and principal magistrate of this city in the reign of King Stephen, who was there buried. It was rebuilt in the time of Henry V."—Stow, Survey, 354. Gilbert Becket was father of the Archbishop.

An. Reg. 3, 1549. and a chapel thereunto belonging[1]. This was conceived to be the safer undertaking, the Bishop then standing on his good behaviour, and the Dean and Chapter of that church, (as of all the rest), being no better, in a manner, by reason of the late act of parliament[2], than tenant at will of their great landlords. And upon this he sets his workmen, on the tenth of April; takes it all down, converts the stone, timber, lead and iron, to the use of his intended palace, and leaves the bones of the dead bodies to be buried in the fields[3], in unhallowed ground. But, all this not sufficing to complete the work, the steeple and most parts of the church of St John's of Jerusalem, not far from Smithfield, most beautifully built not long before by Dockwray, a late Prior thereof, was blown up with gunpowder, and all the stone thereof employed to that purpose also[4]. Such was the ground, and such were the materials, of the Duke's new palace, called Somerset-house: which either he lived not to finish, or else it must be very strange, that, having pulled down two churches, two chapels, and three episcopal houses,—(each of which may be probably supposed, to have had their oratories)—to find materials for this fabric, there should be no room purposely erected for religious offices.

Troubles caused by Gospellers and Anabaptists.

9. According unto this beginning, all the year proceeds; in which there was nothing to be found but troubles and commotions and disquiets, both in Church and state. For about this time there started up a sort of men, who either gave themselves, or had given by others, the name of Gospellers: of whom Bishop Hooper tells us, in the Preface[5] to his Exposition on the Ten Commandments, that "they be better learned than the Holy Ghost: for they wickedly attribute the cause of punishment and adversity to God's Providence, which is the cause of no ill, as he himself can do no ill; and of every mischief that is done, they say it is God's will." And at the

[1] Stow, Chron. 596; Survey, 354. There is an engraving of the "Dance of Death," in Dugdale's Hist. of St Paul's, ed. Ellis.

[2] The act 1 Edw. VI. c. 2, appears to be intended. Sup. p. 106.

[3] "Finsbury fields."—Hayw. 303. After this had been done, however, the charnel-house and its chapel were not pulled down, but converted into dwelling-houses and shops.—Stow, Chron. 596.

[4] Stow, 596; Hayw. 303.

[5] Not in the Preface, but in the Conclusion.—Hooper's Early Writings, ed. Park. Soc. 421.

same time, the Anabaptists, who had kept themselves unto themselves in the late King's time, began to look abroad, and disperse their dotages. For the preventing of which mischief, before it grew unto a head, some of the chiefs of them were convented, on the second of April, in the church of St Paul, before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Westminster, Doctor Cox, Almoner to the King, Doctor May, Dean of that church, Doctor Cole[1], Dean of the Arches, and one Doctor Smith, afterwards better known by the name of Sir Thomas Smith. And, being convicted of their errors, some of them were dismissed only with an admonition, some sentenced to a recantation, and others condemned to bear their fagots at St Paul's cross[2]. Amongst which last I find one Campneys; who, being suspected to incline too much to their opinions, was condemned to the bearing of a fagot on the Sunday following, (being the next Sunday after Easter[3],) Doctor Miles Coverdale, who afterwards was made Bishop of Exeter, then preaching the rehearsal sermon[4]; which punishment so wrought upon him that he relinquished all his former errors and entered into holy orders, flying the kingdom for the better keeping of a good conscience in the time of Queen Mary, and coming back again with the other exiles after her decease. At what time he published a discourse, in the way of a letter, against the Gospellers above mentioned; in which he proves them to have laid the blame of all sins and wickedness upon God's divine decree of predestination, by which men were compelled unto it. His discourse answered not long after by John Veron, one of the Prebends of St Paul's, and Robert Crowley,
74 Parson of St Giles's near Cripplegate; but answered with scurrility and reproach enough, according to the humour of the Predestinarians[5].

An. Reg. 3, 1549.

10. And now the time draws on for putting the new Liturgy in execution,—framed with such judgment out of the common principles of religion wherein all parties do agree,

The new Liturgy comes into use.

[1] The name in Stow is *Cok*, viz. William Cooke, LL.D. as it is in Wilkins, iv. 39.

[2] Stow, 596; Wilkins, iv. 39-40; Strype, Cranmer, ii. 92, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. April 27 is given as the date.

[3] April 28.

[4] For an explanation of this term, see Eliz. i. 5.

[5] See below, Mary, iii. ult. For Campneys, see Tanner, Bibliotheca, 164—5.

An. Reg. 3, 1549. that even the Catholics might have resorted to the same without scruple or scandal, if faction more than reason did not sway amongst them. At Easter some began to officiate by it; followed by others as soon as books could be provided. But on Whitsunday[1], being the day appointed by act of parliament, it was solemnly executed in the cathedral church of St Paul, by the command of Doctor May, for an example unto all the rest of the churches in London, and consequently of all the kingdom. In most parts whereof, there was at the first a greater forwardness than could be rationally expected; the learned men amongst the Papists conforming to it, because they found it differed little in the main, (no not so much as in the canon of the mass), from the Latin service. And the unlearned had good reason to be pleased therewith, in regard that all divine offices were celebrated in a tongue which they understood; whereby they had means and opportunity to become acquainted with the chief mysteries of their religion, which had been before kept secret from them. But then withal, many of those, both Priests and Bishops, who openly had officiated by it, to avoid the penalty of the law, did celebrate their private masses in such secret places wherein it was not easy to discover their doings. More confidently carried in the church of St Paul: in many chapels whereof, by the Bishop's sufferance, the former masses were kept up; that is to say, our Lady's mass, the Apostles' mass, &c. performed in Latin, but disguised by the English names of the Apostles' Communion, and our Lady's Communion[2]. Which coming to the knowledge of the Lords of the council, they addressed their letters unto Bonner—dated the twenty-fourth of June, and subscribed by the Lord Protector, the Lord Chancellor Rich, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord St John, Chief Justice Montague, and Mr Cecil, made not long after one of the Secretaries of State. Now the tenor of the said letters was as followeth:—

Order against masses at St Paul's.

"After hearty commendations; having very credible notice, that within that your cathedral church there be as yet the Apostles' mass, and our Lady's mass, and other masses of such peculiar names[3], under the defence and nomination of our

[1] June 9.

[2] Fox, v. 722. Comp. Hooper's letter to Bullinger, Dec. 27, 1549. Epp. Tigur. 46; Orig. Letters, 72.

[3] Edd. Heyl. "name."

Lady's Communion and the Apostles' Communion, used in private chapels, and other remote places of the same, and not in the chancel, contrary to the King's Majesty's proceedings: the same being for that misuse displeasing unto God; for the place, Paul's, in example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the reverence of the Communion of Christ's body and blood: we, for the augmentation of God's glory and honour, and the consonance of his Majesty's laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you that from henceforth no such masses in this manner be in your church any longer used; but that the holy blessed Communion, according to the act of parliament, be administered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same; and only at such time as your high masses were wont to be used, except some number of people desire (for their necessary business) to have a Communion in the morning; and yet the same to be executed at the chancel at[1] the high altar, as it is appointed in the book of the public service, without cautel, or digression from the common order. And herein you shall not only satisfy our expectation of your conformity in all lawful things, but also avoid the murmur of sundry, that be therewith justly offended. And so we bid your Lordship farewell," &c.[2] An. Reg. 3, 1549.

Disturbances about enclosures.

11. These commands being brought to Bonner, he commits the execution of them to the Dean and Chapter[3]; not willing to engage himself too far upon either side, till he had seen the issue of such commotions as were then raised in many parts of the kingdom on another occasion. Some lords and gentlemen, who were possessed of abbey-lands, had caused many enclosures to be made of the waste grounds in their several manors; which they conceived to be, (as indeed it was), a great advantage to themselves, and no less profitable to the kingdom. Only some poor and indigent people were offended at it, in being thereby abridged of some liberty which before they had in raising to themselves some inconsiderable profit from the grounds enclosed[4]. The Lord Protector had

[1] Edd. Heyl. "on."

[2] Fox, v. 723; Wilkins, iv. 34.

[3] His letter, dated June 26, is in Fox, v. 723, and Wilkins, iv. 35.

[4] There had been disturbances on the subject of enclosures as long

An. Reg. 3, 1549. then lost himself in the love of the vulgar, by his severe, if not unnatural, proceedings against his brother; and somewhat must be done for his restoring to their good opinions, though to the prejudice of the public. Upon this ground he caused a proclamation to be published in the beginning of May; commanding, that they who had enclosed any lands, accustomed to be common, should upon a certain pain, before a day signed, lay them open again[1]. Which so encouraged the rude commons, in many parts of the realm, that, without expecting the time limited by the proclamation, they gathered together in a riotous and tumultuous manner, pulled up the pales, flung down the banks, and filled the ditches, laying all open as before. For which, some of them had been set upon and slain in Wiltshire, by Sir William Herbert; others suppressed by force of arms, conducted by the Lord Gray of Wilton, as were those in Oxfordshire; and some again reduced to more moderate and sober courses by the persuasion of the lords and gentlemen, as in Kent and Sussex[2]. But the most dangerous commotions, which held so long as to entitle them to the name of rebellions, were those of Devonshire and Norfolk;—places remote from one another, but such as seemed to have communicated counsels for carrying on of the design[3].

Rebellion in Devonshire.

12. The first of these in course of time, was that of Devonshire,—began, (as those in other places), under pretence of throwing open the enclosures, but shortly found to have been chiefly raised in maintenance of their old religion[4]. On Whitsun-Monday, June the tenth, being next day after the first exercising of the public Liturgy, some few of the parishioners of Samford Courtney compelled their parish priest, who is supposed to have invited them to that compulsion, to let

before as 1521, (Herbert, 40); it is, therefore, a falsehood in Sanders, (220), to represent these "injuries to the people" as having originated after the Reformation.

[1] Hayward, 289. [2] Ib. 292.

[3] The history of the Devonshire and Norfolk commotions is given in parallel columns by Fuller, iv. 40-50.

[4] The inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall appear to have been very ready to take alarm. Sir Piers Edgcumbe writes, Apr. 20, 1539, that they were in great excitement about the system of parish-registers, then newly instituted by Cromwell.—State Papers, Hen. VIII. i. 612.

them have the Latin mass, as in former times. These,—being seconded by some others, and finding that many of the better sort were more like to engage in this quarrel than in the other,—prevailed with those which before had declared only against enclosures, to pretend religion for the cause of their coming together. And that being done, they were first headed by Humphrey Arundel, Esquire, commander of St Michael's Mount, and some other gentlemen, which so increased the reputation of the cause, that in short time they had made up a body of ten thousand men. Of this commotion there was but little notice taken at the first beginning, when it might easily have been crushed; the Lord Protector not being very forward to suppress those risings, which seemed to have been made by some encouragement from his proclamations. In which respect, and that his good fortune now began to fail him, when the mischief did appear with a face of danger, and could not otherwise be redressed but by force of arms,—instead of putting himself into the head of an army, the Lord Russell is sent down with some slender forces, to give a stop to their proceedings. But—whether it were that he had any secret instructions to drill[1] on the time, or that he had more of the statesman than the soldier in him, or that he had not strength enough to encounter the enemy,—he kept himself aloof, as if he had been sent to look on at a distance, without approaching near the danger[2]. An. Reg. 3, 1549.

13. The rebels in the mean time, increasing as much in confidence as they did in numbers, sent their demands unto the King. Amongst which, one more specially concerned the Liturgy, which therefore I have singled out of all the rest, with the King's answer thereunto, in the words that follow.
76 It was demanded by the rebels, that, "forasmuch as we constantly believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, being at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man; and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very self-same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given

[1] Johnson supposes the word, in this sense, to be a corruption of *drawl*.

[2] Hayward, 292-3.

An. Reg. 3, 1549. upon the cross for our redemption: therefore we will have mass celebrated as it was in times past, without any man communicating with the priests; forasmuch as many, presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lord's body and other kind of meat; some saying that it is bread both before and after; some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it, with many other abused terms."

14. To which demand of theirs the King thus answered, viz. that "For the mass, I assure you, no small study nor travail hath been spent by all the learned Clergy therein, and, to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the Apostles used it, as the holy fathers delivered it; indeed somewhat altered from that to which the Popes of Rome, for their lucre, had brought it. And although (saith he) ye may hear the contrary from some popish evil men, yet our Majesty, which for our honour may not be blemished and stained, assureth you that they deceive, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your heads, to finish their own purpose[1]."

15. But this answer giving no content, they marched with all their forces to the siege of Exeter; carrying before them in their march, (as the Jews did the ark of God, in the times of old), the pix, or consecrated host, borne under a canopy, with crosses, banners, candlesticks, holy bread and holy water, &c. But the walls of Exeter fell not down before this false ark, as Dagon did before the true. For the citizens were no less gallantly resolved to make good the town, than the rebels were desperately bent to force it. To which resolution of the citizens, the natural defences of the city—(being round in form, situate on a rising hill, and environed with a good old wall,)—gave not more encouragement than some insolent speeches of the rebels, boasting that they would shortly measure the silks and sattens therein by the length of their bows. For forty days the siege continued, and was then seasonably raised: the rebels not being able to take it sooner, for want of ordinance; and the citizens not able to have held it longer, for want of victuals, if they had not been succoured when they were. One fortunate skirmish the Lord Russell

[1] Fox, v. 732-4.

had with the daring rebels about the passing of a bridge, at which he slew six hundred of them, which gave the citizens the more courage to hold it out[1]. But the coming of the Lord Gray, with some companies of Almain horse, seconded by three hundred Italian shot under the command of Baptista Spinoli, put an end to the business. For, joining with the Lord Russell's forces, they gave such a strong charge upon the enemy, that they first beat them out of their works, and then compelled them, with great slaughter, to raise their siege. Blessed with the like success in some following fights, the Lord Russell entereth the city on the sixth of August; where he was joyfully received by the half-starved citizens: whose loyalty the King rewarded with an increase of their privileges, and giving to their corporation the manor of Exilond[2]. The sixth of August, since that time, is observed amongst them for an annual feast, in perpetual gratitude to Almighty God for their deliverance from the rebels; with far more reason than many such annual feasts have been lately instituted in some towns and cities, for not being gained unto their King. But, though the sword of war was sheathed, there remained work enough for the sword of justice, in executing many of the rebels, for a terror to others. Arundel and the rest of the chiefs were sent to London, there to receive the recompense of their deserts; most of the rascal rabble executed by martial law; and the Vicar of St Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, hanged on the top of his own tower, apparelled in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle[3].

An. Reg. 3, 1549.

77 16. The Norfolk rebels brake not out till the twentieth of June; beginning first at a place called Ailborough[4], but not considerable, either for strength or number, till the sixth of July; when mightily increased by Ket, a tanner of Windham[5], who took unto himself the conducting of them. These men

Rebellion in Norfolk.

1 Hayward, 294.

2 *Sic* Vowel-Hooker in Holinshed, iii. 958, Speed, and Fuller. "Eviland," edd. Heylyn; "Eutland," Hayward, ed. Kennett.

3 Holinsh. iii. 959.

4 Attleborough.—Hayw. 296.

5 Wymondham. Ket was a man of property, and had himself enclosed some land. The insurgents demolished his fences, on which he joined them and became their leader.—Holinsh. iii. 964.

An.Reg.3, 1549. pretended only against enclosures: and, if religion was at all regarded by them, it was rather kept for a reserve than suffered to appear in the front of the battle. But, when their numbers were so vastly multiplied as to amount to twenty thousand, nothing would serve them, but the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the King, and somewhat also to be done in favour of the old religion. Concerning which they thus remonstrate to the King, or the people rather:—First, viz. "that the free-born commonalty was oppressed by a small number of gentry; who glutted themselves with pleasure, whilst the poor commons, wasted with daily labour, did, like pack-horses, live in extreme slavery. Secondly, that holy rites, established by antiquity, were abolished, new ones authorised, and a new form of religion obtruded, to the subjecting of their souls to those horrid pains which no death could terminate. And therefore, thirdly, that it was necessary for them to go in person to the King, to place new counsellors about him during his minority; removing those who, ruling as they list, confounded things sacred and profane, and regarded nothing but the enriching of themselves with the public treasure, that they might riot it amidst these public calamities[1]."

17. Finding no satisfactory answer to these proud demands, they march directly towards Norwich, and possess themselves of Moushold-hill: which gave them not only a large prospect over, but a full command upon, that city; which they entered and re-entered as they pleased. For what could a weak city do in opposition to so great a multitude? being neither strong by art nor nature, and therefore not in a capacity to make any resistance. Under a large oak, on the top of this hill, (since[2] called the Oak of Reformation), Ket keeps his courts, of chancery, King's-bench, &c.—forcing the neighbouring gentry to submit to his lawless ordinances, and committing many huge enormities, under pretence of rectifying some abuses. The King sends out his gracious pardon; which the proud rebels entertain with contempt and scorn. Whereupon it was resolved, that the Marquess of Northampton should

[1] Godwin, Ann. 134-5.

[2] "Ever since," says Hayward, 297; and other writers state that the name was given by the rebels.

be sent against them, accompanied with the Lords Sheffield and Wentworth and divers gentlemen of note, assisted by a band of Italians under the command of Mala-testa, an experienced soldier. The Marquess was an excellent courtier, but one more skilled in leading a measure than a march: so that, being beaten out of Norwich, (into which he had peaceably been admitted), with loss of some persons of principal quality, and the firing of a great part of the city, he returns ingloriously to London[1]. An. Reg. 3, 1549.

18. Yet all this while the Lord Protector was so far from putting himself upon the action, that he suffered his most dangerous enemy, the Earl of Warwick[2], to go against them, with such forces as had been purposely provided for the war of Scotland. Who, finding the city open for him, entertained the rebels with divers skirmishes, in most of which he had the better; which put them to a resolution of forsaking the hill, and trying their fortune in a battle, in a place called Dussing-dale, where they maintained a bloody fight, but at the last were broken by the Earl's good conduct, and the valiant loyalty of his forces. Two thousand of the rebels are reported to have been slain in the fight and chase[3], the residue of them scattered over all the country, the principals of them taken, and deservedly executed: Robert Ket hanged on Norwich castle; William, his brother, on the top of Windham steeple; nine of his chief followers, on as many boughs of the oak where Ket held his courts. Which great deliverance was celebrated in that city by a public thanksgiving on the twenty-seventh of August, and hath been since perpetuated annually on that day, to these present times[4]. The like rising
78 happened about this time in Yorkshire, begun by Dale and Ombler, two seditious persons, and with them it ended; for being taken in a skirmish, before their number had amounted to three thousand men, they were brought to York, where

[1] Hayward, 297-8.

[2] Tytler (Edw. and Mary, i. 193) gives a letter from Warwick, begging that Northampton may be continued in the command, out of regard for his reputation and feelings, and offering to serve either with him or under him.

[3] "There died of them 2000, as King Edward took the number; but our histories report more than 3500."—Hayward, 299.

[4] Hayward, 299-300.

An. Reg. 3, 1549. they were executed, with some others, on the twenty-first of September, then next following[1].

Deprivation of Bonner.

19. The breaking out of these rebellions, but most especially that of Devonshire, quickened the Lords of the Council to a sharper course against all those whom they suspected not to favour the King's proceedings, nor to advance the execution of the public Liturgy: amongst whom none was more distrusted than Bonner of London; concerning whom it was informed, that, by his negligence, not only many people within his diocese were very forgetful of their duty to God in frequenting the divine service, then by law established, but divers others, utterly despising the same, did in secret places often frequent the popish mass. For this he is commanded to attend the Lords of the Council on the eleventh of August[2]; by whom he was informed of such complaints as were made against him, and so dismissed with certain private injunctions to be observed by him for the time to come[3]. And for a further trial to be made of his zeal and loyalty—(if it were not rather for a snare to entrap him in)—he was commanded to preach against the rebels, at St Paul's Cross, on the first of September, and there to shew the unlawfulness of taking arms on pretence of religion. But on the contrary, he not only touched not upon any thing which was enjoined him by the council, but spent the most part of his sermon in maintenance of the gross, carnal, and papistical presence of Christ's body and blood in the most blessed Sacrament of the altar[4]. Complaints whereof being made by William Latimer, parson of St Laurence Poultney, and John Hooper, sometimes a Cistercian Monk[5], a commission is issued out to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Rochester and Peterborough, Sir Thomas Smith, and Doctor May[6]:

[1] Stow, 597; Hayw. 300; Fox, 739-40.

[2] He had before received a *second* letter of admonition, dated July 23, and thereupon had issued further orders to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's.—Fox, v. 726-7; Wilkins, iv. 35-6.

[3] Fox, v. 729. [4] Fox, v. 746.

[5] W. Latimer is sometimes called *Hugh* in the late edition of Fox; an error which does not occur in that of 1631. Hooper was the same who was afterwards Bishop of Gloucester. He had arrived in England, May, 1549.—(Orig. Letters, 64). The information against Bonner is printed in Fox, v. 747.

[6] Sept. 8.—Fox, v. 748; Wilkins, iv. 36. Heylyn has named the

before whom he was convented at Lambeth, on the tenth of the month; where, after many shifts on his part, and much patience on theirs[1], he is taken *pro confesso*, on the twenty-third, and in the beginning of October[2] deprived of his Bishoprick. To whom succeeded Doctor Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, a learned, stout, and resolute prelate, as by the sequel will appear;—not actually translated till the twelfth of April, in the year next following, and added not long after to the Lords of the Council. An. Reg. 3, 1549.

20. The necessary execution of so many rebels, and this seasonable severity against Bishop Bonner, did much facilitate the King's proceedings in the Reformation; as certainly the opposition to authority, when it is suppressed, both makes the subject and the Prince more absolute. Howsoever, to make sure work of it, there passed an act[3] of parliament in the following session, (which also took beginning on the fourth of November), for taking down such images as were still remaining in the churches; as also for the bringing in of all antiphonaries, missals, breviaries, offices, horaries, primers, and processionals, with other books of false and superstitious worship. The tenor of which act was signified to the subject by the King's proclamations[4], and seconded by the missives of Archbishop Cranmer to the suffragan Bishops[5], requiring them to see it put in execution with all care and diligence. Which so secured the Church on that side, that there was no further opposition against the Liturgy by the Romish party during the rest of this King's reign. For what can any workman do when he wants his tools? or how could they advance the service of the Church of Rome, when the books by which they should officiate it were thus taken from them? Act for bringing in popish books, and for removing images out of churches.

21. But then there started up another faction, as dangerous to the Church, as opposite to the public Liturgy, and as Peter Martyr comes to England.

Bishop of *Peter*borough by mistake for Sir W. *Petre*. A second and more explicit commission was issued to the same persons, Sept. 17.

[1] The proceedings lasted seven days, and are reported at great length by Fox, v. 750, seqq.

[2] Oct. 1.—Godw. de Præsul. 191.

[3] 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10.

[4] Dec. 25, 1549.—Fox, vi. 3; Wilkins, iv. 37.

[5] A letter of Cranmer to his *Archdeacon*, of date Feb. 24, 1549-50, embodying the proclamation, is printed by Wilkins, iv. 37.

An. Reg. 3, 1549. destructive of the rules of the Reformation, then by law established, as were those of Rome. The Archbishop, and the rest of the prelates which co-operated with him in the work, having so far proceeded in abolishing many superstitions which before were used, resolved in the next place to go forwards 79
with a reformation in a point of doctrine. In order whereunto Melancthon's coming was expected the year before[1], but he came not then. And therefore letters were directed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to Martin Bucer[2] and Peter Martyr, two great and eminent divines, but more addicted to the Zuinglian than the Lutheran doctrines in the point of the Sacrament. Martyr accordingly came over in the end of November[3], and, having spent time with the Archbishop in his house at Lambeth, was dispatched to Oxford, where he was made the King's Professor for Divinity, and about two years after made Canon of Christ Church. In his first lectures he is said by Sanders—(if he may be credited)—to have declared himself so much a Zuinglian in that point as to give great offence to Cranmer and the rest of the Bishops; but afterwards, upon notice of it, to have been more moderate, and to conform his judgment to the sense of those learned prelates[4]: which whether it be true or not, certain it is that his readings were so much disliked by some of that University, that a public disputation was shortly had betwixt him and some of those who disliked his doings: in which he publicly maintained these two propositions—1. "That the substance of the bread and wine was not changed;" and 2. "That the body and blood of Christ was not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but united to the same sacramentally[5]." And for the better governing of the disputation, it was appointed by the King, that Doctor Cox, Chancellor of that University, assisted by

[1] Sup. p. 134. Invitations of later date (Feb. 10, 1549-50, and March 27, 1552) are printed in Cranmer's Works, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 425. Comp. Laurence, Bampt. Lectures, 33, 198, 201, 229.

[2] Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 423. Oct. 2, 1548.

[3] He arrived in Nov. 1547. See above, p. 135, note 2.

[4] Sanders (202-3) describes both Bucer and Martyr—especially the latter—as depending on Cranmer for directions as to the doctrines which they should maintain. On similar assertions of Persons, see Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 122. Comp. Strype, Cranm. ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. ii. 324.

[5] Fox, vi. 298-305.

one Mr Morrison, a right learned man, should preside as judges,—(or moderators, as we call them): by whom it was declared in the open schools, that Martyr had the upper hand, and had sufficiently answered all arguments which were brought against him. But Chadsey, the chief of the opponents, and the rest of those who disputed with him, acknowledged no such satisfaction to be given unto them; their[1] party noising it abroad, (according to the fate of such disputations), that they had the victory[2]. An. Reg. 3, 1549.

22. But Bucer not coming over at the same time also, he was more earnestly invited by Peter Alexander[3], the Archbishop's secretary, whose letters bear date March 24[4]; which so prevailed with him at the last, that in June we find him here at Canterbury, from whence he writes to Peter Martyr, who was then at Oxford. And being here, he receives letters from Calvin, by which he was advised to take heed of his old fault—(for a fault he thought it)—which was, to run a moderate course in his reformations[5]. The first thing that he did at his coming hither, (as he saith himself), was to make himself acquainted with the English Liturgy; translated for him into Latin by Alexander Alesius[6], a learned Scot, and generally well approved of by him, as to the main frame and Arrival of Bucer.

[1] Qu. "either"?

[2] Sanders, 224; Burnet, II. ii. 553; Strype, Cranm. b. ii. c. 14.

[3] A native of Artois, (Strype, Cranm. ii. 144, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.) and "formerly chaplain to Queen Mary, the Emperor's sister."—(Hooper, in Orig. Letters, 67). He became a prebendary of Canterbury, and was reinstated in his preferment under Elizabeth.—(Zurich Letters, ed. 2, p. 102. Comp. Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 205).

[4] Bucer, Scripta Anglic. 191.

[5] "Mediis consiliis vel authorem esse, vel approbatorem."—Calv. Epist. ad Bucer. *Author.* ["Hoc tibi nominatim commendo, ut te invidia liberes, qua te *falso* gravari apud multos non ignoras; nam mediis consiliis vel auctorem vel approbatorem semper inscribunt."—Calv. Epp. p. 49.]

[6] Mr Clay, in his preface to the Elizabethan Liturgies, &c. (Parker Soc. 1847. p. xxv.) shews that this statement is erroneous. Bucer had no means of becoming acquainted with the English book, except through an *oral* interpretation; and, although "Aless's work is printed in Bucer's Scripta Anglicana [370, seqq.] immediately before the Censura," yet "this, as the marginal notes will shew, was merely to enable the reader to understand the nature of his remarks." For an account of Aless, see Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. ii. 247.

An. Reg. 3, 1549. body of it, though not well satisfied perhaps in some of the particular branches. Of this he gives account to Calvin, and desires some letters from him to the Lord Protector, (with whom Calvin had already begun to tamper), that he might find the greater favour when he came before him, which was not till the tumults of the time were composed and quieted. Having received a courteous entertainment from the Lord Protector, and being right heartily welcomed by Archbishop Cranmer, he is sent to take the chair at Cambridge. Where his first readings gave no such distaste to the learned academics, as to put him to the necessity of challenging the dissentients to a disputation: though in the ordinary form a disputation was there held at his first coming thither, concerning the sufficiency of holy scripture, the fallibility of the Church, and the true nature of justification[1]. But long he had not held the place, when he left this life, deceasing on the nineteenth of January, 1550[2], according to the computation of the Church of England, to the great loss and grief of that University. By the chiefest heads whereof, and most of the members of that body, he was attended to his grave with all due solemnity: of which more hereafter.

Interference of Calvin.

23. But so it was, that the account which he had given to Calvin of the English Liturgy, and his desiring of a letter from him to the Lord Protector, proved the occasions of much 80
trouble to the Church and the orders of it. For Calvin, not forgetting the repulse he found at the hands of Cranmer when he first offered his assistance[3], had screwed himself into the favour of the Lord Protector, and, thinking nothing to be well done which either was not done by him or by his direction—(as appears by his letters to all Princes which did but cast an eye towards a Reformation)—must needs be meddling in such matters as belonged not to him. He therefore writes a very long letter to the Lord Protector[4], in which, approving well enough of set forms of prayer[5], he descends more parti-

[1] Fox, vi. 335. It is printed in the Scripta Anglicana.

[2] See below, iv. 28, as to the date.

[3] Sup. p. 134.

[4] Epp. pp. 39. 43. Oct. 22, 1548.

[5] "Quod ad formulam precum et rituum ecclesiasticorum, valde probo ut certa illa exstet, a qua pastoribus discedere in functione sua non liceat," &c.—p. 41, col. 2.

cularly to the English Liturgy; in canvassing whereof, he there excepted against commemoration of the dead[1], (which he acknowledgeth however to be very ancient), as also against chrism and extreme unction[2]—(the last of which being rather allowed of than required by the rules of that book[3]): which said, he maketh it his advice, that all these ceremonies should be abrogated, and that withal he should go forwards to reform the Church without fear or wit, without regard of peace at home or correspondence abroad: such considerations being only to be had in civil matters, but not in matters of the Church; wherein not any thing is to be exacted, which is not warranted by the word, and in the managing whereof there is not any thing more distasteful in the eyes of God than worldly wisdom[4], either in moderating, cutting off, or going backwards, but merely as we are directed by his will revealed. An. Reg. 3, 1549.

24. In the next place, he gives a touch on the book of Homilies[5], which Bucer, (as it appears by his epistle to the

[1] "Neque enim me latet proferri posse antiquum ritum mentionis defunctorum faciendæ, ut eo modo communio fidelium omnium in unum corpus conjunctorum declaretur; sed obstat invictum illud argumentum, nempe cœnam Domini rem adeo sacrosanctam esse, ut ullis hominum additamentis eam conspurcare sit nefas."—p. 42, col. 2.

[2] He speaks of these as "non perinde damnanda fortasse, sed tamen ejusmodi ut excusari non possint."—Ib. "Extrema unctio ab eorum inconsiderato zelo emanavit, qui Apostolos æmulari voluerunt, quum eodem cum ipsis dono non pollerent."—Ib.

[3] "If the sick person desire to be anointed."—Liturgies of Edw. VI. ed. Park. Soc. 139-143.

[4] "Scio qua consideratione plerique ulterius progressi non sint: quia nempe veriti sunt ut major rerum mutatio ferri non posset, præsertim ubi vicinorum ratio habenda visa est, quibuscum pax fovenda esset connivendo ad plurima. Habeat sane hoc locum in rebus istius vitæ, in quibus licet de jure suo tantum remittere, quantum pacis studium et amor requiret. Atqui alia prorsus est ratio regiminis ecclesiæ, quod spirituale est, *in quo nihil non ad Dei verbum exigi fas est.* Non est, inquam, penes ullum mortalem quidquam hic aliis dare, aut in illorum gratiam deflectere, quum non alia res Deo magis invisa sit, quam ubi humana nostra prudentia calculum hic suum apponere audet, *ut vel moderemur vel rescindamus* vel retroferamur, præter ipsius unius cœleste arbitrium."—p. 42, col. 2. The words in italics are quoted in the margin by Heylyn.

[5] "Vereor ne paucæ exstent in regno vivæ conciones; major pars autem in modum recitationis decurrat," &c.—p. 41, col. 2.

An. Reg. 3, 1549. Church of England[1]), had right well approved of. These very faintly he permits for a season only; but by no means allows of them for a long continuance, or to be looked on as a rule of the Church, or constantly to serve for the instruction of the people: and thereby gave the hint to the Zuinglian Gospellers, who ever since almost have declaimed against them.

25. And whereas some disputes had grown by his setting on, or the pragmatic humour of some agents which he had amongst us, about the ceremonies of the Church, then by law established, he must needs trouble the Protector in that business also. To whom he writes to this effect, that the Papists would grow insolenter every day than other, unless the differences were composed about the ceremonies[2]. But how?—not by reducing the opponents to conformity, but by encouraging them rather in their opposition: which cannot but appear most plainly to be all he aimed at by soliciting the Duke of Somerset in behalf of Hooper, who was then fallen into some troubles upon that; of which more hereafter.

Wars with France and Scotland.

26. Now in the heat of these employments, both in Church and state, the French and Scots lay hold on the opportunity for the recovering of some forts and pieces of consequence, which had been taken from them by the English in the former war. The last year Bulloign siege was attempted by some of the French, in hope to take it by surprise, and were courageously repulsed by the English garrison. But now they are resolved to go more openly to work, and therefore send an herald to defy the King, according to the noble manner of those times, in proclaiming war before they entered into action against one another. The herald did his office on the eighth of August, and presently the French, with a considerable army, invade the territory of Bulloign. In less than three weeks they possess themselves of Blackness, Hamiltue,

[1] Buceri Gratulatio ad Eccl. Anglic. "Nacti sumus his diebus eas conciones, quibus populum vestrum ad lectionem D. Scripturarum pie et efficaciter adhortamini, fidemque, qua christiani sumus, justificationem, qua salus nobis omnis constat, et cætera religionis nostræ prima capita, eidem sanctissime explicatis."—Scripta Anglic. 171.

[2] "Nisi mature compositum esset dissidium de cæremoniis."—p. 98. *Author.* [These words are from a letter to Bullinger, Apr. 10, 1551, in which Calvin mentions the representations which he had made to the Protector in favour of Hooper. See below, iv. 14; Calv. Epp. p. 60.]

and Newhaven, with all the ordnance, ammunition, and victuals in them. Few of the soldiers escaped with life, but only the governor of Newhaven, (a bastard son of the Lord Sturton's,) who was believed to have betrayed that fort unto them, because he did put himself immediately into the service of the French[1]. But they sped worse in their designs by sea than they did by land: for, giving themselves no small hopes in those broken times for taking in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, they made toward them with a great number of galleys: but they were so manfully encountered with the King's navy, which lay then hovering on those coasts, that, with the loss
81 of a thousand men, and great spoil of their galleys, they were forced to retire into France, and desist from their purpose[2]. Nor were the Scots, in the mean time, negligent in preparing for their own defence; against whom some considerable forces had been prepared in the beginning of this summer, but most unhappily diverted: though very fortunately employed for the relief of Exeter and the taking of Norwich. So that,—no succours being sent for the relief of those garrisons which then remained unto the English,—the Scots, about the middle of November following, courageously assault the strong fort of Boutierage[3], take it by storm, put all soldiers to the sword, except the captain; and him they spared, not out of any pity or humane compassion, but because they would not lose the hope of so great a benefit as they expected for his ransom. Nothing now left unto the English, of all their late purchases and acquists in Scotland, but the strong fort of Aymouth and the town of Roxborough[4].

An. Reg. 3, 1549.

27. The loss of so many pieces in France, one after another, was very sad news to all the court but the Earl of Warwick, who purposely had delayed the sending of such forces as were prepared against the French, that the forts above mentioned might be lost; that, upon the loss thereof, he might project the ruin of the Lord Protector. He had long cast an envious eye at his power and greatness, and looked

Intrigues of Warwick against the Protector.

[1] Stow, 597.

[2] Stow, 597; Hayward, 300.

[3] Broughty Craig.—Lesley, 481. The captain of this place was Sir John Luttrell.—Stow, 601.

[4] Hayward, 291.

An. Reg. 3, 1549. upon himself as a man of other parts, both for camp and council; fitter in all respects to protect the kingdom than he that did enjoy the title. He looked upon him also as a man exposed to the blows of fortune, in being so fatally deprived of his greatest strength by the death of his brother; after which he had little left unto him, but the worst half of himself: feared by the Lords, and not so well beloved by the common people as he had been formerly. There goes a story, that Earl Godwine, having treacherously slain Prince Alfred, the brother of Edward the Confessor, was afterwards present with the King, when his cup-bearer, stumbling with one foot, recovered himself by the help of the other. "One brother helps another," said Earl Godwine merrily: "And so," replied the King as tartly, "my brother might have been useful unto me, if you had pleased to spare his life, for my present comfort[1]." The like might have been said to Earl Dudley of Warwick—that, if he had not lent an helping hand to the death of the Admiral, he could not so easily have tripped up the heels of the Lord Protector. Having before so luckily taken in the out-works, he now resolves to plant his battery for the fort itself. To which end he begins to muster up his strengths and make ready his forces, knowing which way to work upon the Lords of the court; many of which began to stagger in their good affections, and some openly to declare themselves the Protector's enemies. And he so well applied himself to their several humours, that, in short time after his return from Norfolk with success and honour, he had drawn unto his side the Lord Chancellor Rich; Lord St John, Lord Great Master; the Marquess of Northampton; the Earl of Arundel, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Southampton; Sir Thomas Cheney, Treasurer of the Household; Sir John Gage, Constable of the Tower; Sir William Petre, Secretary; Sir Edward Mountague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Edward North, Sir Ralph Sadlier, Sir John Baker, Sir Edward Wotton, Doctor Wotton, and Sir Richard Southwell. Of which some shewed themselves against him upon former grudges, as the Earl of Southampton[2]; some, out of hope to share those offices amongst them which he had engrossed unto himself;

[1] Polyd. Vergil, Hist. Angl. p. 141, ed. Basil. 1555. Camd. Remains, 241. ed. 1657.

[2] Sup. p. 69.

many, because they loved to follow the strongest side; few, in regard of any benefit which was like to redound by it to the commonwealth; the greatest part complaining, that they had not their equal dividend, when the lands of chantries, free chapels, &c. were given up for a prey to the greater courtiers: but all of them disguising their private ends under pretence of doing service to the public. An. Reg. 3, 1549.

28. The combination being thus made, and the Lords of the defection convented together at Ely-house in Holborn, where the Earl then dwelt, they sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to come before them. To whom it is declared by 82 the Lord Chancellor Rich, (a man of Somerset's own preferring), in a long oration[1], in what dangers the kingdom was involved by the misgovernment and practices of the Lord Protector: against whom he objected also many misdemeanours,—some frivolous, some false, and many of them of such a nature as either were to be condemned in themselves, or forgiven in him. For in that speech he charged him, amongst other things, with the loss of the King's pieces in France and Scotland, the sowing of dissension betwixt the nobility and the commons, embezzling the treasures of the King, and inverting the public stock of the kingdom to his private use. It was objected also, that he was wholly acted by the will of his wife, and therefore no fit man to command a kingdom: that he had interrupted the ordinary course of justice, by keeping a court of requests in his own house, in which he many times determined of men's freeholds: that he had demolished many consecrated places and episcopal houses, to erect a palace for himself, spending one hundred pounds *per diem* in superfluous buildings: that by taking to himself the title of Duke of Somerset[2], he declared plainly his aspiring to the crown of this realm: and finally, having so unnaturally laboured the death of his brother, he was no longer to be trusted with the life of the King. And thereupon he desires, or conjures them rather, to join themselves unto the Lords, who aimed at nothing in their counsels but the safety of Charges against Somerset.

[1] Heylyn has here given an abstract of the speech which appears in Hayward, 304-5.

[2] "Which hath always been a title for one of the King's sons, inheritable to the crown."—Hayward. (See above, p. 62.)

An. Reg. 3, 1549. the King, the honour of the kingdom, and the preservation of the people in peace and happiness. But these designs could not so closely be contrived as not to come unto the knowledge of the Lord Protector, who then remained at Hampton-court, with the rest of the Lords, who seemed to continue firm unto him. And on the same day on which this meeting was at London, (being the sixth day of October), he causeth proclamation to be made at the court-gates, and afterwards in other places near adjoining, requiring all sorts of persons to come in for the defence of the King's person: whom he conveyed the same night unto Windsor castle, with a strength of five hundred men, or thereabouts—too many for a guard, and too few for an army. From thence he writes his letters[1] to the Earl of Warwick, to the rest of the Lords, as also to the Lord Mayor and the city of London, of whom he demanded a supply of a thousand men for the present service of the King. But that proud city, seldom true to the royal interess[2], and secretly obsequious to every popular pretender, seemed more inclinable to gratify the Lords in the like demands, than to comply with his desires. The news hereof being brought unto him, and finding that Mr Secretary Petre, whom he had sent with a secret message to the Lords in London, returned not back unto the court, he presently flung up the cards: either for want of courage to play out the game, or rather choosing willingly to lose the set than venture the whole stock of the kingdom on it. So that, upon the first coming of some of the opposite Lords to Windsor, he puts himself into their hands: by whom, on the fourteenth day of the same month, he is brought to London, and committed prisoner to the Tower; pitied the less, even by those that loved him, because he had so tamely betrayed himself[3].

He is committed to the Tower.

Act for a new Ordinal, 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 12.

29. The Duke of Somerset, no longer to be called Protector, being thus laid up, a parliament beginneth, (as the

[1] See Stow, 598.

[2] Among Heylyn's works is enumerated "The Black † Cross; shewing that the Londoners were the cause of this present Rebellion," [against Charles I.]—Wood's Athen. Oxon. iii. 562.

[3] This passage of the history is very fully and curiously illustrated by Mr Tytler, "England under Edward VI. and Mary," vol. i.

other two had done before), on the fourth of November. In which there passed two acts of especial consequence,—(besides the act for removing all images out of the church, and calling in all books of false and superstitious worship, before remembered[1],)—to the concernments of religion. The first declared to this effect—that "such form and manner of making and consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church, as by six prelates, and six other learned men of this realm, learned in God's law, by the King to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the great seal, before the first of April next coming, shall be lawfully exercised and used, and no other." The number of the Bishops and the learned men which are appointed by this act, assure me that the King
83 made choice of the very same whom he had formerly employed in composing the Liturgy[2]; the Bishop of Chichester being left out, by reason of his refractoriness in not subscribing to the same[3]. And they accordingly applied themselves unto the work, following therein the rules of the primitive Church, as they are rather recapitulated than ordained in the fourth Council of Carthage, anno 401[4]: which, though but national in itself, was generally both approved and received, as to the form of consecrating Bishops and inferior Ministers, in all the Churches of the West. Which book, being finished[5], was made use of without further authority till the year 1552; at what time, being added to the second Liturgy, it was approved of and confirmed, as a part thereof, by act of parliament, anno 5 Edward VI. cap. 1. And of this book it is we find mention in the 36th Article of Queen Elizabeth's time[6], in which it is declared—that "whosoever were consecrated and ordered according to the rites thereof, should be reputed and adjudged to be lawfully consecrated, and rightly ordered." Which declaration of the Church was afterwards made good by act of parliament, in the eighth year of that

An. Reg. 3, 1549.

[1] Sup. p. 163.
[2] Sup. p. 119. [3] Sup. p. 136.
[4] Concil. ed. Labbé et Cossart, ii. 1196, seqq. ed. 1671.
[5] It bears date, March, $15\frac{49}{50}$
[6] A. D. 1562.—Cardwell, Synodalia, i. 71.

An. Reg. 3, 1549.

Queen: in which the said Ordinal, of the third of King Edward the Sixth, is confirmed and ratified[1].

Act for revision of Ecclesiastical Laws, 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 11.

30. The other of the said two acts was, "For enabling the King to nominate eight Bishops, and as many temporal Lords, and sixteen members of the lower house of parliament[2], for reviewing all such canons and constitutions as remained in force by virtue of the statute made in the twenty-fifth year of the late King Henry[3], and fitting them for the use of the Church in all times succeeding." According to which act, the King directed a commission to Archbishop Cranmer, and the rest of the persons whom he thought fit to nominate to that employment, and afterwards appointed a sub-committee of eight persons to prepare the work, and make it ready for the rest, that it might be dispatched with the more expedition: which said eight persons were, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Doctor Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely; Doctor Richard Cox, the King's Almoner; and Peter Martyr, Doctor in Divinity; William May, and Rowland Taylour, Doctors of the Law; John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick, Esquires. By whom the work was undertaken and digested[4], fashioned according to the method of the Roman Decretals, and called by the name of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, &c. But not being commissionated hereunto till the 11th of November in the year 1551[5], they

[1] See below, Eliz. viii. 2-3. The form named in that act, however, is not that of the third year of King Edward, but that which was authorised by parliament in his fifth and sixth years. The two differ by the omission of some ceremonies in the latter.

[2] The provision of the act was for "sixteen persons of the clergy, whereof *four* to be Bishops, and sixteen persons of the temporalty, whereof four to be learned in the common laws of this realm;" and Collier supposes the small number of Bishops to have been a reason of the protest made by Cranmer and nine other prelates against the passing of the act.—(v. 373). The commission constituted by Edward in 1551, (Journal, Feb. 10, 1551-2), consisted of eight Bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and a like number of common lawyers.—Comp. Strype, Cranm. ii. 361-2. ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.

[3] 1534. The act was renewed in 1536 and 1544.—Jenkyns, Pref. to Cranmer, cix. (See above, p. 39).

[4] For Cranmer's share in it, see Harmer, (Wharton) Specimen of Errors in Burnet, 113; Jenkyns, Pref. to Cranmer, cx.

[5] The commission is printed in Wilkins, iv. 69; Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i. 95 (where see the editor's note).

either wanted time to communicate it to the chief commissioners, by whom it was to be presented to the King, or found the King encumbered with more weighty matters than to attend the perusal of it. And so the King dying (as he did) before he had given life unto it by his royal signature, the design miscarried:—never thought fit to be resumed in the following times, by any of those who had the government of the Church, or were concerned in the honour and safety of it[1]. An. Reg. 3, 1549.

Act for protection of the King's counsellors, &c. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c.

31. There also passed another act, in order to the peace of the commonwealth, but especially procured by the agents of the Duke of Somerset—the better to secure him from all attempts and practices for the times ensuing, by which his life might be illegally endangered. The purport of which act was, to make it "high treason for any twelve persons, or above, assembled together, to [attempt to][2] kill or imprison any of the King's council, or alter any laws, or continue together the space of an hour, being commanded to return by any Justice of the Peace, Mayor, Sheriff, &c." Which act, intended by his friends for his preservation, was afterwards made use of by his enemies, for the only means of his destruction—deferred a while, but still resolved upon, when occasion served. It was not long before Earl Dudley might perceive that he had served other men's turns against the Duke, as well as his own: and that, having served their turns therein, he found no forwardness in them for raising him unto the place. They were all willing enough to unhorse the Duke; but had no mind that such a rank rider as the Earl should get into the saddle. Besides, he was not to be told that there was nothing to be charged against the Duke which could touch his life; that so many men of different humours were not like to hold long in a plot together, now their turns were served; that the Duke's friends
84 could not be so dull as not to see the emptiness of the practice which was forged against him; nor the King so forgetful of his uncle, when the truth was known, as not to raise him up again to his former height. It therefore would be fittest for his ends and purposes to close up the breach, to set the Duke at liberty from his imprisonment, but so to order the affair

Further proceedings against Somerset.

[1] Fuller, iv. 105-8. The Reformatio was printed in 1571. See Gibson, Codex, 991*; Burnet, ii. 405; iii. 398.

[2] Inserted from the Act.

An. Reg. 3, 1549. that the benefit should be acknowledged to proceed from himself alone. But first, the Duke must so acknowledge his offences, that his adversaries might come off with honour. In order whereunto, he is first articled against for many crimes and misdemeanours, rather imputed to him than proved against him. And unto all these he must be laboured to subscribe, acknowledging the offences contained in them; to beg the favour of the Lords, and cast himself upon his knees for his Majesty's mercy. All which he very poorly did, subscribing his confession on the 23rd of December. Which he subjoined unto the articles, and so returned it to the Lords[1].

[1] Stow, 601-2, (where the Articles and the Confession are printed); Hayward, 309.

ANNO REGNI EDW. SEXTI 4.

ANNO DOM. 1549, 1550.

1. THE Lords, thus furnished with sufficient matter for a legal proceeding, condemned him, by a sentence passed in the House of Peers, unto the loss of all his offices—of Earl Marshal, Lord Treasurer, and Lord Protector—as also to the forfeiture of all his goods, and near £2000 of good yearly rents. Which being signified unto him, he acknowledged himself, in his letter of the 2nd of February, "to be highly favoured by their Lordships, in that they brought his cause to be finable; which fine, though it was to him almost unsupportable, yet he did never purpose to contend with them, nor once to justify himself in any action." He confessed, "that, being none of the wisest, he might easily err; that it was hardly possible for any man in eminent place so to carry himself, that all his actings should be blameless in the eye of justice." He therefore "submitted himself wholly to the King's mercy and to their discretions, for some moderation; desiring them to conceive of what he did amiss, as rather done through rudeness and want of judgment than through any malicious meaning: and that he was ready both to do and suffer what they should appoint. And, finally, he did again most humbly, upon his knees, entreat pardon and favour; and they should ever find him so lowly to their honours, and obedient to their orders, as he would thereby make amends for his former follies[1]." By which submission—(it may be called an abjectedness rather)—as he gave much secret pleasure to the most of his adversaries, so he gained so far upon the King, that he was released of his imprisonment on the fourth day after. And by his Majesty's grace and favour he was discharged of his fine; his goods and lands being again restored unto him, except such as had been given away: either the malice of his enemies being somewhat appeased, or wanting power and credit to make resistance.

Somerset is condemned to loss of his offices, &c.

[1] Stow, 603; Hayw. 309.

An. Reg. 4, 1549—50.

New appointments.

2. This great oak being thus shrewdly shaken, there is no doubt but there will be some gathering up of the sticks which were broken from him; and somewhat must be done, as well to gratify those men which had served the turn as to incline others to the like propensions. And therefore upon Candlemas-day, being the day on which he had made his humble submission before mentioned, William Lord St John, Lord Great Master and President of the Council, is made Lord Treasurer; John Dudley Earl of Warwick, Lord High Chamberlain, is preferred to the office of Lord Great Master; the Marquess of Northampton created Lord High Chamberlain; Sir Anthony Wingfield, Captain of the Guard, is made Comptroller of the 85
King's House, in the place of Sir William Paget—(of whom more anon)—and Sir Thomas Darcie advanced to the office of Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of his Majesty's Guard[1]. And though the Earls of Arundel and Southampton had been as forward as any of the rest in the Duke's destruction; yet now, upon some court displeasures, they were commanded to their houses, and dismissed from their attendance at the council-table: the office of the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household being taken from the Earl of Arundel, and bestowed on Wentworth, ennobled by the title of Lord Wentworth in the first year of the King. Some honours had been given before, between the time of the Duke's acknowledgment and the sentence passed on him by the Lords; and so disposed, that none of the factions might have any ground for a complaint—one of each side being taken out for these advancements. For, on the 19th day of January, William Lord St John, a most affectionate servant to the Earl of Warwick, was preferred unto the title of Earl of Wiltshire; the Lord Russell, who had made himself the head of those which were engaged on neither side, was made Earl of Bedford; and Sir William Paget, Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, who had persisted faithful to the Lord Protector, advanced to the dignity of a Baron, and not long after to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster[2].

Church-lands bestowed on the Lords Wentworth and Paget.

3. Furnished with offices and honours, it is to be presumed that they would find some way to provide themselves of sufficient means to maintain their dignities. The Lord Wentworth,

[1] Stow, 603. [2] Ibid.

being a younger branch of the Wentworths of Yorkshire, had brought some estate with him to the court; though not enough to keep him up in equipage with so great a title. The want whereof was supplied in part by the office of Lord Chamberlain, now conferred upon him; but more by the goodly manors of Stebuneth (commonly called Stepney) and Hackney, bestowed upon him by the King, in consideration of the good and faithful services before performed. For so it happened that the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, lying at the mercy of the times, as before was said[1], conveyed over to the King the said two manors, on the twelfth day after Christmas now last past, with all the members and appurtenances thereunto belonging. Of which the last named was valued at the yearly rent of £41. 9*s.* 4*d.*, the other at £140. 8*s.* 11*d. ob.* And, being thus vested in the King, they were, by letters patents bearing date the 16th of April, then next following, transferred upon the said Lord Wentworth[2]. By means whereof he was possessed of a goodly territory, extending on the Thames, from St Katherine's, near the Tower of London, to the borders of Essex, near Blackwall; from thence along the river Lea to Stratford-le-Bow; and, fetching a great compass on that side of the city, contains in all no fewer than six-and-twenty townships, streets, and hamlets; besides such rows of building as have since been added in these later times. The like provision was made by the new Lord Paget—a Londoner by birth, but by good fortune, mixed with merit, preferred by degrees to be one of the principal secretaries to the late King Henry: by whom he was employed in many embassies and negotiations. Being thus raised, and able to set up for himself, he had his share in the division of the lands of chantry, free chapels, &c., and got into his hands the episcopal house belonging to the Bishop of Exeter—by him

An. Reg. 4, 1549—50.

[1] Sup. p. 152.

[2] Stow, Survey of London, 533, 715, seqq. Gloucester Ridley, in his life of Ridley, (p. 300) complains of Heylyn's statement as to the alienation of these manors. They belonged to the see of London, and were given up in consideration of the King's annexing to London certain estates belonging to the dissolved bishoprick of Westminster.—(Godwin, de Præs. 192; Dugdale, Monast. i. 322.) Both G. Ridley and Strype (Eccl. Mem. ii. 218) consider that the see gained by the exchange, which was made by the Dean and Chapter during the vacancy—Bp. Ridley, on his appointment, confirming their act.

An. Reg. 4, 1550. enlarged and beautified, and called Paget-house: sold afterwards to Robert Earl of Leicester, from whom it came to the late Earls of Essex, and from them took the name of Essex-house, by which it is now best known[1]. But—being a great house is not able to keep itself—he played his game so well, that he got into his possession the manor of Beau-desart (of which he was created Baron) and many other fair estates in the county of Stafford, belonging partly to the Bishop, and partly to the Dean and Chapter, of Litchfield[2]: neither of which was able to contend with so great a courtier, who held the see[3], and had the ear of the Protector, and the King's to 86
boot. What other course he took to improve his fortunes, we shall see hereafter, when we come to the last part of the tragedy of the Duke of Somerset.

Somerset again received by the King.

4. For Somerset, having gained his liberty, and thereby being put into a capacity of making use of his friends, found means to be admitted into the King's presence: by whom he was not only welcomed with all the kind expressions of a gracious Prince, and made to sit down at his own table; but the same day (the 8th of April[4]) he was again sworn one of the Lords of the Privy Council. This was enough to make Earl Dudley look about him, and to pretend a reconciliation with him for the present; whom he meant first to make secure, and afterwards strike the last blow at him, when he least looked for it. And, that the knot of amity might be tied the faster and last the longer—(a truelove's knot it must be thought, or else nothing worth)—a marriage was negotiated between John Lord Viscount Lisle, the Earl's eldest son, and the Lady Ann Seimour, one of the daughters of the Duke; which marriage was joyfully solemnised on the 3rd of June, at the King's manor-house of Shene; the King himself gracing the nuptials with his presence[5]. And now who could imagine but that,

[1] Stow, Survey, p. 489.

[2] Browne Willis, Surv. of Cathedrals, ii. 380. See below, v. 3. It ought not to be forgotten that Paget was in his later days "a strict zealot of the Romish Church."—Camden, Eliz. in Kennett, ii. 394.

[3] The editor regrets that he is unable to explain this. Perhaps we might read "who held the *set*," i. e. who had the game in his own hands.

[4] Hayw. 309. Edward in his Journal, and Burnet, (II. 293, ii. 15) say the *tenth*.

[5] Edw. Journal in Burn. II. ii. 20.

upon the giving of such hostages unto one another, a most inviolable league of friendship had been made between them; and that, all animosities and displeasures being quite forgotten, they would more powerfully co-operate to the public good? But, leaving them and their adherents to the dark contrivances of the court, we must leave England for a time, and see how our affairs succeeded on the other side of the sea; where, in the middle of the former dissensions, the French had put us to the worst in the way of arms, and after got the better in a treaty of peace. An. Reg. 4, 1550.

5. They had the last year taken in all the out-works, which seemed the strongest ramparts of the town of Bulloign; but had not strength enough to venture on the town itself—provided plentifully of all necessaries to endure a siege, and bravely garrisoned by men of too much courage and resolution to give it up upon a summons. Besides, they came to understand that the English were then practising with Charles the Emperor, to associate with them in the war, according to some former capitulations made between both crowns. And if they found such difficulties in maintaining the war against either of them, when they fought singly by themselves, there was no hope of good success against them, should they unite, and pour their forces into France. Most true it is that, after such time as the French had bid defiance to the King, and that the King, by reason of the troubles and embroilments at home, was not in a condition to attend the affairs of France, Sir William Paget was sent Ambassador to Charles the Fifth, to desire succour of him, and to lay before him the infancy and several necessities of the young King, being then in the twelfth year of his age[1]. This desire when the Emperor had refused to hearken to, they besought him that he would at the least be pleased to take into his hands the keeping of the town of Bulloign: and that for no longer time than until King Edward could make an end of the troubles of his subjects at home, and compose the discords of the court, which threatened more danger than the other. To which request he did not only refuse to hearken except the King would promise to restore the catholic religion, as he Affairs of France.

[1] For papers connected with this negotiation, see Burnet, vol. ii. Records, Nos. 38-40. B. i. part ii. 242—260.

An. Reg. 4, 1550. called it, in all his dominions; but expressly commanded that neither his men nor ammunition should go to the assistance of the English. An ingratitude not easy to be marked with a fitting epithet: considering what fast friends the Kings of England had always been to the house of Burgundy, the rights whereof remained in the person of Charles; with what sums of money they had helped them; and what sundry ways they had made for them, both in the Netherlands, to maintain their authority, and in the realm of France itself, to increase their power. For from the marriage of Maximilian, of the family of Austria, with the Lady Mary of Burgundy, (which happened in the year 1478), unto the death of Henry the Eighth, 87
(which fell in the year 1546), are just three-score and eight years. In which time only, it was found, on a just account, that it had cost the Kings of England at the least six millions of pounds in the mere quarrels of that house.

6. But the French, being more assured that the English held some secret practice with the Emperor, than certain what the issue thereof might be, resolved upon a peace with Edward; in hope of getting more by treaty than he could by force. To this end one Guidotti[1], a Florentine, is sent for England: by whom many overtures were made to the Lords of the Council,—not as from the King, but from the Constable of France. And, spying with a nimble eye that all affairs were governed by the Earl of Warwick, he resolved to buy him to the French, at what price soever: and so well did he ply the business, that, at the last, it was agreed that four Ambassadors should be sent to France from the King of England, to treat with so many others of that kingdom, about a peace between the crowns; but that the treaty

[1] Edd. "Guidolti." He was settled in England as a merchant.—Tytler, Edw. and Mary, i. 256. "The English writers attribute the first employment of Guidotti to the French ministry, the French to the English. 'Les Anglois, lassez de la guerre, &c., m'ayant fait rechercher d'envoyer mes deputiz.'—Henry apud Ribeir, ii. 287. It is probable that it was so," from the rewards which the English King bestowed on him.—Lingard, vii. 58. Although all historians mention Guidotti as the negotiator, Mr Tytler has discovered in the Privy Council Books a reward of 2000 crowns to Gondi, master of the French King's finances, "because he was the first motioner and procurer of this peace."—(Edw. and Mary, i. 287).

itself should be held in Guisnes, a town belonging to the English, in the Marches of Calice. In pursuance whereof the Earl of Bedford, the new Lord Paget, Sir William Petre, principal Secretary of Estate, and Sir John Mason, Clerk of the Council, were, on the twenty-first of January, dispatched for France. But no sooner were they come to Calice, when Guidotti brings a letter to them from Monsieur d'Rochpot, one of the four which were appointed for that treaty in behalf of the French. In which it was desired that the English Ambassadors would repair to the town of Bulloign, without putting the French to the charge and trouble of so long a journey as to come to Guisnes. Which being demurred on by the English, and a post sent unto the court, to know the pleasure of the council in that particular: they received word,—(for so the oracle had directed)—that they should not stand upon punctilios, so they gained the point; nor hazard the substance of the work, to preserve the circumstances. According whereunto, the Ambassadors removed to Bulloign, and pitched their tents without the town, as had been desired, for the reception of the French; that so they might enter on the treaty for which they came. But then a new difficulty appeared; for the French would not cross the water, and put themselves under the command of Bulloign; but desired rather that the English would come over to them, and fall upon the treaty in an house which they were then preparing for their entertainment. Which being also yielded to, after some disputes, the French grew confident, that, after so many condescensions on the part of the English, they might obtain from them what they listed, in the main of the business. For, though it cannot otherwise be, but that, in all treaties of this nature, there must be some condescendings made by the one or the other, yet he that yields the first inch of ground gives the other party a strong hope of obtaining the rest[1]. An. Reg. 4, 1550.

7. These preparations being made, the Commissioners on both sides begin the treaty: where, after some expostulations touching the justice or injustice of the war on either side, they came to particular demands. The English required the payment of all debts and pensions concluded on between A peace concluded with France and Scotland.

[1] Hayward, 310-11.

An. Reg. 4, 1550. the two Kings deceased; and that the Queen of Scots should either be delivered to their hands, or sent back to her kingdom. But unto this the French replied—that the Queen of Scots was designed in marriage to the Dauphin of France: and that she looked upon it as an high dishonour, that their King should be esteemed a pensioner or tributary to the crown of England. The French, on the other side, propounded—that, all arrears of debts and pensions being thrown aside, as not likely to be ever paid, they either should put the higher price on the town of Bulloign, or else prepare themselves to keep it as well as they could. From which proposals when the French could not be removed, the oracle was again consulted: by whose direction it was ordered in the council of England, that the Commissioners should conclude the peace upon such articles and instructions as were sent unto them— 88
most of them ordinary and accustomed at the winding up of all such treaties. But that of most concernment was,— that, all titles and claims on the one side, and defences on the other, remaining to either party as they were before, the town of Bulloign, with all the ordnance found there at the taking of it, should be delivered to the French for the sum of four hundred thousand crowns of the sun. Of which four hundred thousand crowns, (each crown being valued at the price of six shillings and eight[1] pence,) one moiety was to be paid within three days after the town should be delivered, and the other at the end of six months after; hostages to be given in the mean time for the payment of it. It was agreed also, in relation to the realm of Scotland, that, if the Scots rased Lowder and Dowglass[2], the English should rase Roxborough and Aymouth; and no fortification in any of those places to be afterwards made[3].

8. Which agreement being signed by the Commissioners of each side, and hostages mutually delivered for performance of covenants, peace was proclaimed between the Kings on the fourth of March: and the town of Bulloign, with all the forts depending on it, delivered into the power of the French

[1] So in Hayward; and the calculation in vii. 1, below, proves it to be right. Edd. Heyl. read "six."

[2] Lauder and Dunglass.

[3] Edw. Journal, 14; Stow, 604; Hayw. 312; Lesley, 483.

on the twenty-fifth day of April then next following. But they must thank the Earl of Warwick for letting them go away with that commodity at so cheap a rate;—for which the two last Kings had bargained for no less than two millions of the same crowns, to be paid unto the King of England at the end of eight years[1]; the towns and territory in the mean time to remain with the English. Nor was young Edward backward in rewarding his care and diligence in expediting the affair; which was so represented to him, and the extraordinary merit of the service so highly magnified, that he was made General Warden of the North, gratified with a thousand marks of good rent in land, and the command of an hundred horsemen at the King's charge. Such is the fortune of some Princes, to be most bountiful to those who are falsest to them. Guidotti also was rewarded with knighthood, a present of a thousand crowns, and an annual pension of as much, to maintain his honour; besides a pension of two hundred and fifty crowns per annum, which was given to his son. What recompense he had of the crown of France, I have nowhere found; but have good reason to believe that he did not serve their turn for nothing. Great care was also taken for the preventing of such disorders as the dissolving of great garrisons and the disbanding of armies do for the most part carry with them. And to this end the Lord Clinton, Governor of the town and territory of Bulloign, was created Lord Admiral; the officers and captains rewarded with lands, leases, offices, and annual pensions; all foreign forces satisfied, and sent out of the kingdom,—the common soldiers, having all their pay, and a month's pay over, dismissed into their several countries, and great charge given that they should be very well observed, till they were quietly settled at home; the light-horsemen and men-at-arms put under the command of the Marquess of Northampton, then being Captain of the Band of Pensioners; and finally, some of the chief captains, with six hundred ordinaries, disposed of on the frontiers of Scotland[2].

An. Reg. 4, 1550.

9. All things thus quieted at home and composed abroad, in reference to the civil state, we must next see how matters went which concerned religion:—all parties making use of the public peace for the advance of their private and

Condemnation of Joan of Kent for heresy.

[1] June 7, 1546.—Lingard, vi. 345. [2] Hayw. 313.

An. Reg. 4, 1550. particular ends. And the first matter of remark which occurs this year is the burning of Joan Butcher, (by others called Joan Knell, but generally best known by the name of Joan of Kent), condemned for heresy in the year last past[1], about the time that so many Anabaptists were convented in the Church of St Paul before Archbishop Cranmer and his assistants: whereof mention hath been made already[2]. Her crime was, "that she denied Christ to have taken flesh from the Virgin Mary; affirming, (as the Valentinians did of old), that he only passed through her body, as water through the pipe of a conduit, without participating any 89
thing of that body through which he passed." Great care was taken and much time spent by the Archbishop, to persuade her to a better sense: but when all failed, and that he was upon the point of passing sentence upon her for persisting obstinate in so gross an heresy, she most maliciously reproached him for passing the like sentence of condemnation on another woman, called Ann Askew, for denying the carnal presence of Christ in the Sacrament; telling him, that he had condemned the said Ann Askew not long before for a piece of bread, and was then ready to condemn her for a piece of flesh[3].

10. But being convicted and delivered over to the secular judges, she was by them condemned to be burnt; but no execution done upon it till this present year. The interval was spent in using all means for her conversion and amendment; which, as it only seemed to confirm her in her former obstinacy, so it was found to have given no small encouragement to others, for entertaining the like dangerous and unchristian errors. His Majesty was therefore moved to sign the warrant for her death. To which when the Lords of the Council could by no means win him, the Archbishop is desired to persuade him to it. The King continued both in reason and resolution as before he did, notwithstanding all the Archbishop's arguments to persuade the contrary;—the King affirming that he would not drive her headlong to the devil, and thinking it better to chastise her with some corporal punishment. But when the gravity and importunity of

[1] Apr. 30, 1549.—Strype, Cranmer, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. ii. 492; Wilkins, iv. 42-3; Burnet, II. ii. 238.

[2] Sup. p. 152.

[3] Sanders, 222.

the man had prevailed at last, the King told him, as he signed the warrant, that upon him he would lay all the charge thereof before God. Which words of his declare sufficiently his averseness from having any hand in shedding of that woman's blood, how justly soever she deserved it. But that the Archbishop's earnestness in bringing her to exemplary punishment should contract any such guilt in the sight of God as to subject him to the like cruel death within few years after—(as some would bear the world in hand[1])—is a surmise not to be warranted by any principle of piety or rule of charity. The warrant being signed, and the writ for execution sealed, she was kept a whole week before her death at the Lord Chancellor's house; daily resorted to both by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London[2], who spared no pains to bring her to a right belief in that particular. But the same spirit of obstinacy still continued with her, and held her to the very last. For, being brought to the stake in Smithfield, on the second of May, Dr Scory, (not long after[3] made Bishop of Rochester), was desired to preach unto the people; who insisting on the proof of that point for denial whereof the obstinate wretch had been condemned, she interrupted him, and told him with a very loud voice, that "he lied like" &c.[4] And so, the sermon being ended, the executioner was commanded to do his office, which he did accordingly. And yet this terrible execution did not so prevail as to extirpate and exterminate the like impious dotages, though it suppressed them for a time. For on the twenty-fourth of April, in the year next follow-

An. Reg. 4, 1550.

She is burnt in Smithfield, May 2.

[1] "The archbishop was violent, both by persuasions and entreaties; nor many years passed, but this archbishop also felt the smart of the fire; and it may be that by his importunity for blood he did offend; for a good thing is not good, if it be immoderately desired or done."—Hayward, 272-3. The story of the scene between Edward and Cranmer—which rests originally on the authority of Fox, v. 699—is disproved by Mr Bruce, (Pref. to R. Hutchinson's Works, ed. Park. Soc. iv—v.) who shews that the warrant was not signed by Edward, but by the council, who acted without referring the matter to the King.—Comp. Strype, Cranmer, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. ii. 97.

[2] Edward in his Journal (Burnet, II. ii. 18) mentions the Bishop of Ely with the Bishop of London.

[3] Aug. 30, 1551.—Godw. de Præs. 538.

[4] Stow, 604.

An. Reg. 4, 1550. ing, I find one George Paris, a Dutchman[1], to have been burnt for Arianism in the very same place.

John à Lasco settles in England.

11. Better success had John à Lasco, a Polonian born, with his congregation of Germans and other strangers, who took sanctuary this year in England[2], hoping that here they might enjoy that liberty of conscience, and safety for their goods and persons, which their own country had denied them. Nor did they fall short in any thing which their hopes had promised them. For the Lords of the Council, looking on them as afflicted strangers, and persecuted for the same religion which was here professed, interceded for them with the King; and he as graciously vouchsafed to give them both entertainment and protection[3], assigned them the west part of the church belonging to the late dissolved house of Augustine friars[4] for the exercise of religious duties, made them a corporation, consisting of a superintendent and four other ministers, with power to fill the vacant places by a new succession, whensoever any of them should be void by death or otherwise,—the parties 90
by them chosen to be approved by the King and council. And this he did, with a command to the Lord Mayor of London, the aldermen and sheriffs thereof, as also to the Archbishop of Canterbury and all other Bishops of this realm, not to disturb them either in the free exercise of their religion and ecclesiastical government, notwithstanding that they differed from the government and forms of worship established in the Church of England[5]. All which and more he grants by his letters

[1] "Chirurgicus, natione Teuthonicus, videlicet de partibus Flandriæ."—Wilkins, iv. 45; Stow, 605.

[2] A Lasco had already paid a visit of six months to England, on the invitation of Cranmer, dated July 4, 1548.—(See above, p. 135; Orig. Letters, p. 16.) His second arrival was on May 13, 1550.—(Orig. Letters, 187, 560.)

[3] The motive is stated in Edward's Journal to have been "for avoiding of all sects of Anabaptists and such like."—(Burnet, II. ii. 24.)

[4] Lord St John (Paulet, afterwards Marquess of Winchester) had obtained possession of the choir of this church.—(Fuller, iv. 75.) For an account of the desecration which followed, see Stow, Survey, 184.

[5] "Suos libere et quiete frui, gaudere, uti, et exercere ritus, et ceremonias suas proprias, et disciplinam ecclesiasticam propriam et peculiarem, non obstante quod non conveniant cum ritibus et ceremoniis in regno nostro usitatis."—Wilkins, iv. 65. Comp. Collier, ix. 276.

patents, bearing date at Lecz[1] (the Lord Chancellor's house) on the twenty-fourth of July, and the fourth year of his reign. Which grant, though in itself an act of most princely compassion, in respect of those strangers, yet proved the occasion of no small disturbance to the proceedings of the Church and the quiet ordering of the state; for, by[2] suffering these men to live under another kind of government, and to worship God after other forms, than those allowed of by the laws, proved in effect the setting up of one altar against another in the midst of the Church, and the erecting of a commonwealth in the midst of the kingdom. So much the more unfortunately permitted in this present conjuncture, when such a rupture began to appear amongst ourselves, as was made wider by the coming in of these Dutch reformers, and the indulgence granted to them: as will appear by the following story of John Hooper, designed to the bishoprick of Glocester; which in brief was this. An. Reg. 4. 1550.

Difficulties about consecration of Hooper as Bishop.

12. John Hooper, the designed Bishop of Glocester, being bred in Oxford, studious in the holy Scriptures, and well affected unto those beginnings of the Reformation which had been countenanced by King Henry, about the time of the Six Articles found himself so much in danger as put upon him the necessity of forsaking the kingdom. Settling himself at Zurich, a town of Switzerland, he acquaints himself with Bullinger, a scholar in those times of great name and note[3]: and, having stayed there till the death of King Henry, he returned into England, bringing with him some very strong affections to the nakedness of the Zuinglian or Helvetian Churches; though differing in opinion from them in some points of doctrine, and more especially in that of predestination. In England, by his constant preaching and learned writings, he grew into great favour and esteem with the Earl of Warwick; by whose procurement the King most graciously bestowed upon him, without any seeking of his own, the bishoprick of Glocester[4], which was then newly void by the death of Wake-

[1] Or Leighes, in Essex. [2] Qu. "the"?

[3] Many very curious letters from Hooper to Bullinger are published in the Parker Society's "Original Letters relative to the English Reformation."

[4] Hooper states (Orig. Letters, 87) that the bishopricks of Glouces-

An. Reg. 4, 1550. man[1], the last Abbot of Tewksbury, and the first Bishop of that see. Having received the King's letters patents for his preferment to that place, he applies himself to the Archbishop for his consecration: concerning which there grew a difference between them. For the Archbishop would not consecrate him but in such an habit which Bishops were required to wear by the rules of the Church; and Hooper would not take it upon such conditions. Repairing to his patron the Earl of Warwick, he obtains from him a letter[2] to the Archbishop—"desiring a forbearance of those things in which the Lord elect of Glocester did crave to be forborne at his hands;" implying also, that it was the King's desire, as well as his, that such forbearance should be used. It was desired also, that he "would not charge him with any oath which seemed to be burthenous to his conscience." For the elect Bishop, as it seems, had boggled also at the oath of paying canonical obedience to his Metropolitan[3]; which, by the laws then and still in force, he was bound to take. But the Archbishop still persisting in the denial, and being well seconded by Bishop Ridley of London, (who would by no means yield unto it), the King himself was put upon the business by the Earl of Warwick; who thereupon wrote to the Archbishop this ensuing letter:

"Right Reverend Father, and right trusty and well beloved, 91
we greet you well. Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have calden[4] and chosen our right well beloved and well worthy

ter and Rochester were offered by the King at Easter to himself and Poinet respectively—each having preached a course of sermons at court during Lent.

[1] Dec. 1549.

[2] Dated July 23, 1550.—Fox, vi. 641; Fuller, iv. 63.

[3] That this was the oath which Hooper scrupled to take, is merely a conjecture of Fuller, (Ch. Hist. iv. 64), who himself was afterwards convinced of its incorrectness by Bishop Hackett.—(Worthies, ii. 280, ed. 1811.) Hooper's objection was, in reality, to the oath of supremacy, on account of the concluding words, "So help me God, *all Saints, and the holy Gospels.*" His reasoning convinced the King, who with his own hand struck out the words which involved swearing by any creatures; whereupon Hooper agreed to take the oath.—See Strype, Cranmer, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. ii. 207, n. q.; Burnet, III. 389; III. ii. 269, 532; Orig. Letters, 566.

[4] Sic edd. Heyl.

Mr John Hooper, Professor of Divinity, to be our Bishop of Glocester:—as well for his great learning, deep judgment, and long study, both in the Scriptures and other profound learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation, &c. From consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites[1] and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby you think you should fall in *præmunire* of our laws: we have thought good, by advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures you should run into and be in, in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these[2] our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore. An. Reg. 4, 1550.

"Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the fifth day of August, in the fourth year of our reign[3]."

13. This gracious letter notwithstanding, the two Bishops, wisely taking into consideration of what danger and ill consequence the example was, humbly craved leave not to obey the King against his laws: and the Earl, finding little hope of prevailing in that suit which would not be granted to the King, leaves the new Bishop to himself; who, still persisting in his obstinacy and wilful humour, was finally for his disobedience and contempt committed prisoner[4]; and from the prison writes his letters to Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, for their opinion in the case. From the last of which, who had declared himself no friend to the English ceremonies, he might presume of some encouragement; but that he had any from the first, I have nowhere found[5]. The contrary whereunto will appear by his

[1] Edd. Heyl. "rights." [2] Edd. "this."

[3] Fox, vi. 640; Fuller, iv. 64-5; Wilkins, iv. 65.

[4] Fuller, iv. 67.

[5] He was not encouraged by either, although both wished that the habits might not be enforced. See Burnet, ii. 316-9; Collier, v. 388. As to the part which Bucer took, we find Burcher writing to Bullinger—"Hooper has John à Lasco and a few others on his side; but against him many adversaries, among whom is Bucer; who, if he had as much influence now as formerly he had among us, it would have been all over with Hooper's preferment, for he would never have been made bishop."—(Orig. Letters, 675.) Hooper himself tells Bullinger, "Master à Lasco alone, of all the foreigners who have any influence, stood on my side."—(Ibid. 95.) Cf. Epp. Tigur. 437, 61.

An. Reg. 4, 1550.

answer unto John à Lasco, in the present case; whereof more anon.

14. In which condition of affairs Calvin addresseth his letters to the Lord Protector, whom he desireth to lend the man an helping hand[1], and extricate him out of those perplexities into which he was cast. So that at last the differences were thus compromised; that is to say, that Hooper should receive his consecration, attired in his episcopal robes; that he should be dispensed withal from wearing it at ordinary times, as his daily habit; but that he should be bound to use it whensoever he preached before the King, in his own cathedral, or any other place of like public nature. According to which agreement, being appointed to preach before the King, he shewed himself apparelled in his Bishop's robes; namely, a long scarlet chimere, reaching down to the ground, for his upper garment[2] (changed in Queen Elizabeth's time to one of black satten), and under that a white linen rochet, with a square cap upon his head; which Fox reproacheth by the name of a popish attire, and makes to be a great cause of "shame and contumely to that godly man[3]." And possibly it might be

[1] "Hominem hortatus sum ut Hoppero manum porrigeret." *Author.* [Calv. ad Bullinger. Apr. 10, 1551. Epp. p. 60.]

[2] See Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, vol. ii. Appendix.

[3] On this subject Dr Wordsworth has a long note, (Eccl. Biog. ii. 365-8), in which he shews, by a letter written from the Fleet, Feb. 15, 1551-2, [rather 1550-1,] that Hooper was brought to acknowledge the indifferency of the habits—"Id volebam intelligeretis, me nunc agnoscere libertatem filiorum Dei in rebus externis omnibus; quas nec per se impias, nec usum earum quemlibet per se impium, assero aut sentio," &c. This letter, though published by Durell in 1669, was unknown to the later historians in general. We might be perplexed by its inconsistency with several passages in the "Original Letters," (pp. 87, 91, 187, 567), which represent Hooper as triumphant; but a curious light is thrown on the affair by two letters of Utenhovius to Bullinger, (Apr. 9, Aug. 14, 1551): "Overcome by the obstinacy of the bishops, the good man submitted himself and his cause to the judgment of the privy council; the result of which was, that he was inaugurated in the usual manner, yet not without the greatest regret both of myself and of all good men, nor without affording a most grievous stumblingblock to many of our brethren; a circumstance that I am unwilling to conceal from you, though, from my affection for Hooper, I am very unwilling to make the communication; and indeed I should not now do it, were I not aware of your sincere regard for Hooper, and that you look upon him

thought so at that time by Hooper himself; who from thence- An. Reg. 4, 1550.
forth carried a strong grudge against Bishop Ridley, the principal man, as he conceived, (and that not untruly), who had held him up so closely to such hard conditions: not fully reconciled unto him, till they were both ready for the stake; and then it was high time to lay aside those animosities which they had hereupon conceived one against another[1]. But these things
92 happened not,—(I mean his consecration, and his preaching before the King) till March next following; and then we may hear further of him.

And thus we have the first beginning of that opposition which hath continued ever since against the Liturgy itself, the cap and surplice, and other rites and usages of the Anglican Church.

15. Which differences, being thus begun, were both fomented and increased by the pragmaticalness of John à Lasco, opposite both in government and forms of worship, (if not perhaps in doctrine also), to the Church of England. For John à Lasco, not content to enjoy those privileges which were intended for the use of those strangers only, so far abused his Majesty's goodness as to appear in favour of the Zuinglian or Calvinian faction, which then began more openly to shew itself, against the orders of the Church. For, first, he publisheth a book entitled *Forma et Ratio Totius Ecclesiastici Ministerii:* wherein he maintains the use of sitting at the holy Communion[2],—contrary to the laudable custom of the Church of Disputes about ceremonies and vestments.

as another self. I would gladly add more upon this subject, were it safe to entrust everything to writing; but I would rather inform you by word of mouth than by a private letter. Meanwhile take care not to say a word about me to Master Hooper; neither will it be worth while to give him any advice (*multum commonere*) about this business, since what is already done can admit of no remedy."—(Orig. Letters, 586.) "I was long in doubt whether I ought to write these things. But, when I considered that the failings both of the prophets and the apostles are not without reason recorded in Scripture, I forthwith shook off all hesitation," &c.—(ib. 588. Cf. Epp. Tigur. 381-2.) Hence it would seem that those who were in the secret took extreme pains to prevent the true state of the case from becoming public.

[1] See below, Mary, iii. 4; Fuller, iv. 73. Hooper was soon reconciled with Cranmer.—(Cranm. ed. Park. Soc. ii. 431.)

[2] Fol. 142 of the French translation, 1550. On another book of à Lasco, to the same purpose, see Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 374.

An. Reg. 4, 1550. England, but much to the encouragement of all those who impugned her orders. A controversy unhappily moved by Bishop Hooper, concerning the episcopal habit, was presently propagated amongst the rest of the Clergy, touching caps and surplices. And in this quarrel John à Lasco must needs be one: —not only countenancing those who refused to wear them, but writing unto Martin Bucer, to declare against them. For which severely reprehended by that moderate and learned man, and all his cavils and objections very solidly answered; which, being sent to him in the way of letter, was afterwards printed and dispersed, for keeping down that opposite humour which began then to overswell the banks and threatened to bear all before it[1]. And by this passage we may rectify a mistake, or a calumny rather, in the *Altare Damascenum*. The author whereof makes Martin Bucer peremptory in refusing to wear the square cap, when he lived in Cambridge; and to give this simple reason for it,—"that he could not wear a square cap, since his head was round[2]." But I note this only by the way, to shew the honesty of those men which erected that altar, and return again to John à Lasco; who, being born in Poland, where sitting at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been used by the Arians,—(who, looking no otherwise on Christ than their elder brother, might think it was "no robbery" at all "to be equal with" him, and sit down with him at his table)—what he learned there, he desired might be practised here, the better to conform this Church to the Polish conventicles.

16. As for the other controversy, about caps and surplices

[1] It is reprinted by Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. App. LL. Bucer's letter to Hooper is translated in the same volume, App. NN; the original is in Scripta Anglic. p. 705.

[2] Calderwood, Alt. Damasc. p. 655, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1708. Fox has the same witticism in his account of Hooper's consecration:—"Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared, cap, albeit that his head was round."—(vi. 641.) Whoever may have been the author of this "simple reason" against the cap, there can be little doubt that it is incorrect to ascribe it to Bucer; but Heylyn has done Calderwood wrong in making this an occasion to cast an aspersion on his honesty; for the presbyterian writer took his story from Bp. Pilkington's "Letter to the Earl of Leicester in behalf of the refusers of the habits," (Pilkington, ed. Park. Soc. 622), and had given a reference to that authority.

—though it found no encouragement from Martin Bucer, yet it received no small countenance from Peter Martyr. For in a letter of his, of the first of July, inscribed "Unto a nameless friend," who had desired his judgment in it, he first declares, according to the very truth, "that, being indifferent in themselves, they could make no man, of themselves, to be either godly or ungodly, by the use or forbearance of them:" but then he addeth, that "he thinks it most expedient to the good of the Church, that they and all others of that kind should be taken away, when the next convenient opportunity should present itself." And then he gives this reason for it,—that "where such ceremonies were so stiffly contended for, which were not warranted and supported by the Word of God, there commonly men were less solicitous of the substance of religion than they were of the circumstances of it[1]." But he might well have spared his judgment, which had so visibly appeared in his daily practice. For he hath told us of himself, in one of his epistles, bearing date at Zurich, the fourth of November, 1559, (being more than five years after he had left this kingdom)—that "he had never used the surplice, when he lived in Oxford, though he were then a Canon of Christchurch, and frequently present in the quire[2]." So that, between the authority of Peter Martyr on the one side, and the pragmaticalness of John à Lasco on the other, many were drawn from their obedience to
93 the rules of the Church, for the time then present, and a ground laid for more confusions and disturbances in the time to come. An. Reg. 4, 1550.

17. The regular Clergy in those days appeared not com-

[1] "Magis expedire judico, ut ea vestis, et alia, id genus, plura, cum fieri commode possit auferantur," &c. *Author.* ["Cum ista sint ἀδιάφορα, per se ipsa pium aut impium faciunt neminem; attamen, uti tu quoque censes, magis expedire judico ut ea vestis et alia plura id genus, cum fieri commode poterit auferantur, quo ecclesiasticæ res multo simplicissime gerantur. Etenim dum signa tam obfirmato animo defenduntur et retinentur, quæ non sunt verbo Dei suffulta, ibi persæpe videas homines rerum ipsarum minime cupidos."—Pet. Mart. Epp. Theolog. printed with his Loci Comm. ed. Lond. 1583, p. 1085.]

[2] "Ego cum essem Oxonii, vestibus illis albis in choro nunquam uti volui; quamvis essem canonicus." *Author.* [See above, p. 135. This letter (printed with the Loci Communes, p. 1127) is said by Burnet to have been addressed to Grindal; but Dr Hastings Robinson states that it is without address in the MS., and is afterwards acknowledged by Sampson.—Zurich Letters, ed. 2, p. 65.]

An. Reg. 4, 1550. monly out of their own houses, but in their Priests' coats, with the square cap upon their heads; and, if they were of note and eminency, in their gowns and tippets. This habit also is decried for superstitious; affirmed to be a popish attire, and altogether as unfit for Ministers of the holy gospel as the chimere and rochet were for those who claimed to be the successors of the Lord's Apostles. So Tyms replied unto Bishop Gardiner, when, being asked, "whether a coat[1], with stockings of divers colours, the upper part white and the nether-stock russet," (in which habit he appeared before him), "were a fit apparel for a Deacon"—(which office he had exercised in this Church)—he saucily made answer, "that his vesture did not so much vary from a Deacon's as his Lordship's did from that of an Apostle[2]." The less to be admired in Tyms, in that I find the like averseness from that grave and decent habit in some other men, who were in parts and place above him. For, while this controversy was on foot between the Bishops and Clergy, about wearing Priests' caps and other attire belonging to their holy order, Mr John Rogers, one of the Prebends of St Paul's, and divinity reader of that church, then newly returned from beyond the seas, could never be persuaded to wear any other than the round cap when he went abroad. And, being further pressed unto it, he declared himself thus, "that he would never agree to the point of conformity[3], but on this condition,—that, if the Bishops did require the cap and tippet, &c., then it should also be decreed, that all popish Priests (for a distinction between them and other) should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a chalice with an host upon it[4]." The like averseness is by some ascribed also to Mr John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, not long before returned from beyond the seas, as the other was, and suffering for religion in Queen Mary's days, as the other did. Who, being by his place a member of the convocation, in the first of Queen Mary, and required by the Prolocutor to come apparelled, like the rest, in his gown and tippet, or otherwise to forbear the house, chose rather to accept of the last condition than to submit unto the former. But

[1] i.e. a laical coat, instead of a gown or a priest's coat.
[2] Fox, viii. 108.
[3] "uniformity," Fox.
[4] Fox, vi. 611.

there was something else in the first condition, which made him unwilling to accept it, and that was, that "he must not speak but when he was commanded by the Prolocutor[1]." Which being so directly against the customs of the house, and the privileges of each member of it, he had good reason rather to forbear his presence than to submit himself, and consequently all the rest of the members, to so great a servitude. An. Reg. 4, 1550.

18. Such were the effects of Calvin's interposings in behalf of Hooper; and such the effects of his exceptions against some ancient usages in the public Liturgy; and such the consequents of the indulgence granted to John à Lasco and his Church of strangers, opposite both in practice and point of judgment to the established rules and orders of the Church of England. For what did follow hereupon, but a continual multiplying of disorders in all parts of this Church? What from the sitting at the Sacrament, used and maintained by John à Lasco, but first irreverence in receiving, and afterwards a contempt and depraving of it? What from the crying down of the sacred vestments and the grave habit of the Clergy, but first a disesteem of the men themselves, and by degrees a vilifying and contempt of their holy ministry? Nay, such a peccancy of humour began then manifestly to break out, that it was preached at Paul's Cross by one Sir Stephen,—(for so they commonly called such of the Clergy as were under the degree of Doctor[2])—the Curate of St Katharine Christ Church, that it was fit the names of churches should be altered, and the names of the days in the week changed; that fish-days should be kept on any other days than on Fridays and Saturdays, and the Lent at any other time except only between Shrovetide and Easter. We are told also by John Stow[3], that he Irregularities in the Church.

[1] Ibid. vi. 411.

[2] Fuller gives a somewhat different account of this title: "Such priests as have the addition of *Sir* before their Christian name were men not graduated in the University, being in orders, but not in degrees; whilst others, entitled *Masters*, had commenced in the arts."—iii. 472.

[3] Survey, 131. It does not appear, however, that Sir Stephen proposed a general alteration in the names of churches, but only in that of St Andrew Undershaft—so called from a shaft or maypole which had formerly been erected near it, and which, when fixed in the ground, was higher than the steeple. He represented that the maypole "was

An. Reg. 4, 1550. had seen the said Sir Stephen to leave the pulpit, and preach to the people out of an high elm[1], which stood in the midst 94
of the church-yard; and, that being done, to return into the church again, and, leaving the high altar, to sing the Communion-service upon a tomb of the dead, with his face toward the north[2]. Which is to be observed the rather, because Sir Stephen hath found so many followers in these later times. For, as some of the preciser sort have left the church, to preach in woods and barns, &c., and, instead of the names of the old days and months, can find no other title for them than the first, second, or third month of the year, and the first, second, or third day of the week, &c., so was it propounded not long since by some state reformers,—"that the Lenten Fast should be kept no longer between Shrovetide and Easter; but rather, (by some act or ordinance, to be made for that purpose), betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide." To such wild fancies do men grow, when once they break those bonds and neglect those rules which wise antiquity ordained for the preservation of peace and order.

Disuse of excommunication.

19. If it be asked,—what, in the mean time, was become of the bishops, and, why no care was taken for the purging of these peccant humours:—it may be answered, that the wings of their authority had been so clipped, that it was scarce able to fly abroad; the sentence of excommunication, wherewith they formerly kept in awe both Priest and people, not having been in use and practice since the first of this King. Whether it were that any command was laid upon the Bishops, by which they were restrained from the exercise of it: or that some other course was in agitation, for drawing the cognizance

made an idol, by naming the church of St Andrew with the addition of *under* that *shaft*;" and his oratory excited a mob to destroy it—for, although disused for many years, it still existed. The name of the church, however, remains to this day.

[1] Perhaps Sir Stephen wished to act on a suggestion of Latimer in a sermon preached at court in 1549. "I would not have [the place of preaching] so superstitiously esteemed, but that a good preacher may declare the word of God sitting on a horse, or preaching in a tree. And yet if this were done, the unpreaching prelates would laugh it to scorn."—i. 206, ed. Park. Soc.

[2] Stow says, "Upon a tomb of the dead, towards the north,"—perhaps meaning only to describe the situation of the tomb.

of all ecclesiastical causes to the Courts at Westminster: or that it was thought inconsistent with that dreadful sentence, to be issued in the King's name—(as it had lately been appointed by Act of parliament[1])—it is not easy to determine. Certain it is, that at this time it was in an abeyance, (as our lawyers phrase it),—either abolished for the present or of none effect; not only to the cherishing of these disorders amongst the Ministers of the Church, but to the great increase of viciousness in all sorts of men[2]. So that it was not without cause that it was called for so earnestly by Bishop Latimer, in a sermon preached before the King[3], where he thus presseth for the restitution of the ancient discipline: "Lechery," saith he, "is used in England, and such lechery as is used in no other part[4] of the world. And yet it is made a matter of sport, a matter of nothing, a laughing matter, [and] a trifle, not to be passed on nor reformed. Well, I trust it will be amended one day, and I hope to see it mended, as old as I am. And here I will make a suit to your Highness, to restore unto the Church the discipline of Christ in excommunicating such as be notable offenders. Nor never devise any other way; for no man is able to devise any better than that God hath done, with excommunication to put them from the congregation, till they be confounded. Therefore restore Christ's discipline for excommunication: and that shall be a mean, both to pacify God's wrath and indignation, and also that less abomination shall be used than in times past hath been, or is at this day. I speak this of a conscience, and I mean and[5] move it of a [good] will to your Grace and your realm. Bring into the Church of England the open discipline of excommunication, that open sinners may be stricken withal." An. Reg. 4, 1550.

20. Nor were these all the mischiefs which the Church suffered at this time. Many of the nobility and gentry, which held abbey lands, and were charged with pensions to the monks, Orders for preaching.

[1] This refers to the act for appointment of Bishops, &c. 1 Edw. VI. c. 2, which ordered that all ecclesiastical processes should be in the King's name, being tested by the Bishop, and countersigned by his commissary. Sup. p. 105. Gibson, Codex, 967-8.

[2] Two bills for amendment of Church discipline had been successively introduced into parliament, and lost, in 1549. Burnet, II. 291; Collier, v. 315, 372.

[3] In Lent, 1550.—Works, i. 257-8.

[4] "In none other place."

[5] Edd. Heyl. "to."

An. Reg. 4, 1550. out of a covetous design to be freed of those pensions, or to discharge their lands from those incumbrances which by that means were laid upon them, had placed them in such benefices[1] as were in their gifts. This filled the Church with ignorant and illiterate Priests: few of the monks being learned beyond their mass-book, utterly unacquainted with the art of preaching, and otherwise not well affected to the Reformation. Of which abuse complaint is made by Calvin[2] to Archbishop Cranmer; and Peter Martyr[3] much bemoaneth the miserable condition of the Church, for want of preachers; though he touch not at the reasons and causes of it. For the remedy whereof 95
(as time and leisure would permit), it was ordained, by the advice of the Lords of the Council, that of the King's six Chaplains which attended in ordinary, two of them should be always about the court, and the other four should travail in preaching abroad. The first year, two in Wales, and two in Lincolnshire; the second year, two in the Marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkshire; the third year, two in Devonshire, and two in Hampshire; the fourth year, two in Norfolk, and two in Essex; the fifth year, two in Kent, and two in Sussex[4]: and so throughout all the shires in England. By which means it was hoped that the people might, in time, be well instructed in their duty to God and their obedience to the laws; in which they had not shewed themselves so forward as of right they ought. But this course being like to be long in running, and subject to more heats and colds than the nature of the business could well comport with, the next care was to fill the Church with abler and more orthodox Clerks, as the cures fell void. And, for an example to the rest, it was ordered that none should be presented unto any benefice in the King's donation, either as in the right of his crown, or by promotion, wardship, lapse, &c. till he had preached before the King, and thereby

[1] Sup. p. 126.

[2] Epp. p. 62. Compare his letter to K. Edward, Epp. Tigur. 460; Original Letters, 710; Henry, Leben Calvins, ii. 377. Hamburg, 1838.

[3] "Dolco plusquam dici potest [possit], tanta ubique in Anglia verbi Dei penuria laborari."—Epist. Julii 1, 1550. *Author.* [Loci Comm. 1085.]

[4] Edward in his Journal (Burnet, II. ii. 63), Hayward, p. 327, and others, state that in the fourth year two were to be in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex, and make no mention of an arrangement for the fifth year.

passed his judgment and approbation. And it was much about this time that sermons at the court were increased also. For whereas formerly there were no sermons at the court, but in time of Lent and possibly on some few of the greater festivals; —in which respect six Chaplains were sufficient to attend in ordinary:—it was now ordered that from thenceforth there should be sermons every Sunday, for all such as were so disposed to resort unto[1]. An. Reg. 4, 1550.

21. But the great business of this year was the taking down of altars in many places, by the public authority; which in some few had formerly been pulled down by the irregular forwardness of the common people. The principal motive whereunto was, in the first place, the opinion of some dislikes which had been taken by Calvin against the Liturgy, and the desire of those of the Zuinglian faction to reduce this Church unto the nakedness and simplicity of those transmarine Churches which followed the Helvetian or Calvinian forms. For the advancement of which work, it had been preached by Hooper, above mentioned, before the King, about the beginning of this year, that "it would be very well that it might please the magistrate to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of Christ; and thereby to take away the false persuasion of the people, which they have of sacrifices to be done upon the altars. Because," said he, "as long as altars remain, both the ignorant people and the ignorant and evil-persuaded Priests will dream always of sacrifice[2]." This was enough to put the thoughts of the alteration into the heads[3] of some great men about the court, who thereby promised themselves no small hopes of profit, by the Altars taken down.

[1] Edw. Journal, in Burnet, II. ii. 15. An increase of the number of sermons at court had been recommended by Hooper, in his last sermon on Jonah, preached in Lent, 1550. "If it may please you to command more sundry times to have sermons before your Majesty, it will not be a little help to you, if they be well made, well borne away, and well practised. And seeing there is in the year eight thousand seven hundred and sixty hours, it shall not be much for your Highness, no, nor for all your household, to bestow of them fifty-two in the year to hear the sermon of God."—(Early Writings, 558, ed. Park. Soc.)

[2] Fourth Sermon on Jonas, Early Writings, p. 488.

[3] Edd. 1, 2, "head."

An. Reg. 4, 1550. disfurnishing of the altars of the hangings, palls, plate, and other rich utensils, which every parish, more or less, had provided for them. And that this consideration might prevail upon them as much as any other, (if perhaps not more), may be collected from an inquiry made about two years after. In which it was to be interrogated, "what jewels of gold and silver, or silver crosses, candlesticks, censers, chalices, copes, and other vestments, were then remaining in any of the cathedral or parochial churches; or otherwise had been embezzled or taken away:" the leaving of one chalice to every church, with a cloth or covering for the communion-table, being thought sufficient[1].

22. The matter being thus resolved on, a letter comes to Bishop Ridley, in the name of the King, signed with his royal signet, but subscribed by Somerset and other of the Lords of the Council, concerning the taking down of altars and setting up tables in the stead thereof. Which letter, because it relates to somewhat which was done before in some of the churches, and seems only to pretend to an uniformity in all the rest, I shall here subjoin:—that being the chief ground on which so great an alteration must be supposed to 96
have been raised. Now the tenor of the said letter is as followeth:

Letter of the Council to Bishop Ridley.

"Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well: whereas it is come to our knowledge that, being the altars within the more part of the churches of this realm, upon good and godly considerations, are taken down, there doth yet remain altars standing in divers other churches; by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth amongst sundry of our subjects; which, if good foresight were not had, might perhaps engender great hurt and inconvenience: we let you wit that, minding to have all occasions of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those and such-like diversities; and considering, that, amongst other things belonging to our royal office and care[2],

[1] See below, Edw. vii. 3. On reference to the first paragraph of the instructions, it will be seen that Heylyn has given a somewhat unfair representation of what is said as to the plate and ornaments which were to be left in churches.

[2] "cure."

we do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm: we have thought good, by the advice of our council, to require you, and nevertheless especially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that with all diligence all the altars in every church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said diocese, be taken down; and instead of them a table to be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed Communion. And to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving subjects as be not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we could wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations, gathered and collected, that make for the purpose. The which, and such others as you shall think meet to be set forth, to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in such places as you shall think meet, before the taking down of the said altars; so as both the weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the foresaid considerations in that our cathedral church, in your own person if you conveniently may; or otherwise by your Chancellor, or other grave preacher, both there and in such other market-towns and most notable places of your diocese as you may think most requisite[1]." An. Reg. 4, 1550.

Which letter, bearing date on the twenty-fourth of November, in the fourth year of the King, was subscribed by the Duke of Somerset, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Admiral Clinton, the Earls of Warwick, Bedford, and Wiltshire, the Bishop of Ely, the Lords Wentworth and North.

Reasons for the change from altars to tables.

23. Now the effect of the said reasons, mentioned in the last part of this letter, were: first, to move the people from the superstitious opinions of the popish mass, unto the right use of the Lord's Supper:—the use of an altar being to sacri-

[1] Fox, vi. 5; Wilkins, iv. 65.

An. Reg. 4, 1550.

fice upon, and the use of a table to eat upon; and therefore a table to be far more fit for our feeding on him who was once only crucified and offered for us. Secondly, that in the book of Common Prayer the name of altar, the Lord's board, or table, are used indifferently, without prescribing any thing in the form thereof. For as it is called a table and the Lord's board, in reference to the Lord's Supper which is there administered, so it is called an altar also, in reference to the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which is there offered unto God. And so the changing the altars into tables not to be any way repugnant to the rules of the Liturgy. The third reason seems to be no other than an 97
illustration of the first, for taking away the superstitious opinion out of the minds of the people touching the sacrifice of the mass, which was not to be celebrated but upon an altar. The fourth, that the altars were erected for the sacrifices of the law, which being now ceased, the form of the altar was to cease together with them. The fifth, that, as Christ did institute the Sacrament of his body and blood at a table, and not at an altar, (as appeareth by the three Evangelists), so it is not to be found that any of the Apostles[1] did ever use an altar in the ministration. And finally, that it is declared in the preface to the book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt arise in the use and practising of the said book, that then, to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the Bishop of the diocese; who, by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting of it[2].

Proceedings of Ridley.

24. The letter with these reasons being brought to Ridley, there was no time for him to dispute the commands of the one, or to examine the validity and strength of the other. And thereupon, proceeding shortly after to his first visitation, he gave out one injunction, amongst others, to this effect, that those churches in his diocese where the altars do remain should conform themselves unto those other churches which had taken them down; and that, instead of the multitude of their altars, they should set up one decent table in every church[3]. But

[1] Heylyn has omitted the words "or the primitive church."

[2] Fox, vi. 5, 6.

[3] "Whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some as an altar, whereby dissension is perceived

this being done, a question afterwards did arise about the form of the Lord's board; some using it in the form of a table, and others in the form of an altar. Which being referred unto the determination of the Bishop, he declared himself in favour of that posture or position of it which he conceived most likely to procure an uniformity in all his diocese, and to be more agreeable to the King's godly proceedings in abolishing divers vain and superstitious opinions about the mass out of the hearts of the people. Upon which declaration or determination, he appointed the form of a right table to be used in his diocese, and caused the wall standing on the back side of the altar in the church of St Paul's to be broken down, for an example to the rest[1]. And, being thus a leading case to all the rest of the kingdom, it was followed, either with a swifter or a slower pace, according as the Bishops in their several dioceses, or the Clergy in their several parishes, stood affected to it. No universal change of altars into tables in all parts of the realm[2], till the repealing of the first Liturgy, —in which the Priest is appointed "to stand before the midst of the altar," in the celebration,—and the establishing of the second,—in which it is required that "the Priest shall stand on the north side of the table,"—had put an end to the dispute. An. Reg. 4, 1550.

25. Nor, indeed, can it be supposed that all which is before affirmed of Bishop Ridley could be done at once, or acted in so short a space as the rest of this year: which could not give him time enough to warn, commence, and carry

to arise among the unlearned: therefore, wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese; and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper;—we exhort the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers with the communicants may have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables."—Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 82-3. Ridley's visitation *preceded* the issuing of the royal letters. See below, p. 207, n. 1.

[1] Fox, v. 7.

[2] There were, however, "letters sent to every Bishop, to pluck down altars," as Edward notes in his Journal, Nov. 19, 1550.

An. Reg. 4, 1550. on a visitation—admitting that the inconveniency of the season might have been dispensed with. And therefore I should rather think that the Bishop, having received his Majesty's order in the end of November, might cause it to be put in execution in the churches of London, and issue out his mandates to the rest of the Bishops, and the Archdeacons of his own diocese, for doing the like in other places within the compass of their several and respective jurisdictions. Which being done, as in the way of preparation, his visitation might proceed in the spring next following; and the whole business be transacted in form and manner as before laid down. And this may be believed the rather because the changing of altars into tables is made by Holinshead, (a diligent and painful writer), to be the work of the next year[1]: as, questionless, it needs must be in all parts of the realm except London and Westminster, and some of the towns and villages adjoining to them. But much less can I think that the altar-wall in St Paul's church was taken down by the command of Bishop Ridley in the evening of St Barnaby's day this present year, as is affirmed by John Stow[2]. For then it must be done five months before the coming out of the order from the Lords of 98
the Council. Assuredly Bishop Ridley was the master of too great a judgment to run before authority in a business of such weight and moment; and he had also a more high esteem of the blessed Sacrament, than by any such unadvised and precipitate action to render it less venerable in the eyes of the common people. Besides, whereas the taking down of the said altar-wall is said to have been done on the first St Barnaby's day which was kept holy with the Church,—that circumstance is alone sufficient to give some light to the mistake. The Liturgy, which appointed St Barnaby's day to be kept for an holy-day, was to be put in execution in all parts of the realm at the feast of Whitsuntide, 1549, and had actually been officiated in some churches for some weeks before. So that the first St Barnaby's day which was to be kept holy by the

[1] Fol. 106. *Author.* [Holinshed mentions the change as to the altar of St Paul's on St Barnabas' day, 1550, and that the example was "shortly after followed throughout London."—(iii. 1024.) He has nothing on the subject under the following year.]

[2] Fol. 604. *Author.*

rules of that Liturgy, must have been kept in that year also; and consequently the taking down of the said altar-wall, being done on the evening of that day, must be supposed to have been done above ten months before Bishop Ridley was translated to the see of London. Let therefore the keeping holy of the first St Barnaby's day be placed in the year 1549, the issuing of the order from the Lords of the Council in the year 1550, and the taking down of the altar-wall on the evening of St Barnaby's day in the year 1551. And then all inconveniences and contradictions will be taken away, which otherwise cannot be avoided[1]. An. Reg. 4, 1551.

26. No change this year amongst the peers of the realm or principal officers of the court, but in the death of Thomas Lord Wriothesly, the first Earl of Southampton of that name and family; who died at Lincoln-place, in Holborn, on the thirtieth day of July[2], leaving his son Henry to succeed him in his lands and honours. A man unfortunate in his relations to the two great persons of that time;—deprived of the great seal by the Duke of Somerset, and removed from his place at the council-table by the Earl of Warwick: having first served the turns of the one, in lifting him into the saddle; and of the other, in dismounting him from that high estate. Nor Changes during the year.

[1] There is really no difficulty in the matter, except such as arises from Heylyn's unwillingness to suppose that Ridley's views on the subject of altars were different from those which he himself had advocated in his pamphlets against Archbishop Williams. Ridley's visitation was in June 1550; on St Barnabas' day (June 11) in that year the alteration was made in St Paul's: on June 23, as King Edward mentions in his Journal, "Sir John Yates [or Gates], sheriff of Essex, went down with letters to see the Bishop of London's injunctions performed."—(Burnet, II. 326; II. ii. 324.) In issuing his injunction, Ridley had no reason to suppose that he was "running before authority:" for, as Dr Cardwell observes, "he framed it, doubtless, on the authority given to bishops in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, to 'take order for the quieting and appeasing of all doubts' connected with the use of that book."—(Doc. Ann. i. 83.) Nor is there any force in Heylyn's argument as to St Barnabas' day. For in 1549, the first year of the Reformed Liturgy, Whit-Tuesday fell on June 11, and superseded the festival of the Apostle (as it would have done by the Roman rules); consequently the first celebration of St Barnabas' day was in 1550, and to that year belong all the proceedings as to altars which our author would spread over three years.

[2] Stow, 604; Godw. Ann. 141.

An.Reg.4, 1551. find I any great change this year amongst the Bishops, but that Doctor Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, was translated to the see of London, on the twelfth of April[1]; and Doctor John Poynet consecrated Bishop of Rochester on the twenty-sixth of June[2]. By which account he must needs be the first Bishop which received episcopal consecration according to the form of the English ordinal; as Farrar was the first who was advanced unto that honour by the King's letters patents[3]. As for Ridley, we have spoke before; and as for Poynet, he is affirmed to have been a man of very good learning, with reference to his age and the time he lived in; well studied in the Greek tongue, and of no small eminence in the arts and mathematical sciences. A change was also made in Cambridge by the death of Bucer: which I find placed by Mr Fox on the twenty-third of December; by others, with more truth, on the nineteenth of January,—both in the compass of this year,—and by some others, with less reason, on the tenth of March[4]. But at what time soever he died, certain it is that he was most solemnly interred in St Mary's church, attended to his grave by all the heads, and most of the graduates in that university: his funeral sermon preached by Doctor Parker, the first Archbishop of Canterbury in Queen Elizabeth's time: the panegyric made by one of the Haddons, a man of a most fluent and rhetorical style: all that pretended to the Muses, in both universities, setting forth his great worth, and their own loss in him, with the best of their poetry.

[1] His patent was dated April 1.—Richardson in Godwin de Præsul. 192.

[2] June 29.—N. in Godwin, 538, from Cranmer's Register.

[3] See above, p. 145.

[4] The real date appears to be the 28th of February, which is given by Peter Martyr, Orig. Letters, 490, 495, and by King Edward in his Journal, Burnet, II. ii. 33; as also by Godwin, Ann. 127, and Strype, Cranm. ii. 151, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.

ANNO REGNI EDW. SEXTI 5.

ANNO DOM. 1550, 1551.

1. WE must begin this year with the deprivation of Bishop Gardiner, whom we left committed to the Tower the last of June in the year 1548[1]. There he remained almost two years, without being pressed to any particular point, the yielding unto which might procure his liberty, or the refusal justify such a long imprisonment. On the tenth of June, this year, the public Liturgy[2], now being generally executed in all parts of the kingdom, was offered to his consideration; that some experiment might be made whether he would put his hand unto it, and promise to advance the service. Upon the fourth day after, the Duke of Somerset, with five other of the Lords of the Council, was sent unto the Tower to receive his answer[3]. Which he returned to this effect—"that he had deliberately considered of all the Offices contained in the Common Prayer Book, and all the several branches of it: that, though he could not have made it in that manner, had the matter been referred unto him, yet that he found such things therein as did very well satisfy his conscience: and therefore, that he would not only execute it in his own person, but cause the same to be officiated by all those of his diocese." But this was not the answer which the courtiers looked for. It was their hope, they should have found him more averse from the King's proceedings; that, making a report of his perverseness, he might be lifted out of that wealthy bishoprick: which, if it either were kept vacant, or filled with a more tractable person, might give them opportunity to enrich themselves by

Deprivation of Gardiner.

[1] Sup. p. 131. The affair of Gardiner is related at very great length in Fox, Vol. vi. A large part of the documents is restored from the first edition, having been omitted in the intermediate ones.—Comp. Stow, 600; Strype, Cranm. ii. 228—244, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.

[2] "The books of my proceedings."—Edw. Journ. in Burnet, II. ii. 22. Comp. Strype, Cranm. ii. 229, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.

[3] Edw. Journ. ibid.; Strype, Cranm. ibid.

An. Reg. 5, 1550—1. the spoil thereof. Therefore to put him further to it, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, Master of the Horse, and Mr Secretary Petre, are sent upon the ninth of July, with certain articles, which for that end were signed by the King and the Lords of the Council. According to the tenor hereof, he was not only to testify his consent to the establishing of the holy-days and fasting-days by the King's authority, the allowance of the public Liturgy, and the abrogating of the statute for the Six Articles, &c., but to subscribe to the confession of his fault in his former obstinacy, after such form and manner as was there required. To which articles he subscribed without any great hesitancy; but refused to put his hand to the said confession: "there being no reason," (as he thought, and so he answered those which came unto him from the court on the morrow after), "that he should yield to the confession of a guilt, when he knew himself innocent[1]."

2. He is now fallen into the toil, out of which he finds but little hope of being set free. For presently on the neck of this a book of articles is drawn up, containing all the alteration made by the King and his father, as well by Acts of parliament as their own Injunctions, from the first suppression of the monasteries to the coming out of the late form for the Consecration of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. Of all which doings he is required to signify his approbation, to make confession of his fault, with an acknowledgment that he had deserved the punishment which was laid upon him[2]. Which articles (being tendered to him by the Bishop of London, the Master of the Horse, Mr Secretary Petre, and Goodrick, a Counsellor at Law)[3] appeared to him to be of such an hard digestion, that he desired first to be set at liberty before he should be pressed to make a particular answer. This being taken for a refusal, and that refusal taken for a contempt, the profits of his bishoprick are sequestered from him for three months, by an order

[1] Fox, vi. 80; Edw. Journal, p. 25; Burnet, III. 370; Strype, Cranm. ii. 231-2.

[2] Fox, vi. 82.

[3] Edward, Journ. p. 25, mentions Cecil instead of the Master of the Horse. It appears that both were employed on the occasion.—Strype, Cranm. ii. 232.

of the council-table, bearing date the nineteenth of the month; the said profits, in the mean time, to be collected or received by such person or persons as the King should thereunto appoint: with this intimation in the close—that, if he did not tender his submission at the end of that term, he should be taken for "an incorrigible person, and unmeet Minister of this Church, and finally, to be proceeded against to a deprivation[1]." The term expired, and no such humble submission or acknowledgment made, as had been required at his hands—a commission is directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Sir William Petre, &c. authorised thereby to proceed against him, upon certain articles in the same contained. Convented before whom at Lambeth, on the fifteenth of December, he received his charge. Which being received, he used so many shifts, and found so many evasions to elude the business, that, having appeared six days[2] before them, without coming to a plain and positive answer, he was, upon the fourteenth of February[3], sentenced to a deprivation, and so remitted to the Tower. But Gardiner did not mean to die so tamely, and therefore had no sooner heard the definitive sentence, but presently he protesteth against the same, makes his appeal unto the King, and causeth both his said appeal and protestation to be registered in the acts of that court. Of all which he will find a time to serve himself, in the alteration of affairs.

An. Reg. 5, 1550—1.

3. It was presumed that the report of this severity against a man so eminent for his parts and place would either bring such other Bishops as had yet stood out to a fit conformity, or otherwise expose both them and their estates to the like condemnation. But some there were so stiff in their old opinions, that neither terror nor persuasion could prevail upon them, either to give their approbation of the King's proceedings, or otherwise to advance the service. And some there were, who, though they outwardly complied with the King's

Some Bishops alienate church-lands.

[1] Edw. Journ. 26; Fox, vi. 85; Strype, Cranm. ii. 235.

[2] "After no less than two-and-twenty sessions, held at divers places, that is, from the 15th of December to the 14th of February; though Stow falsely nameth but seven."—Strype, Cranm. ii. 242.

[3] Stow, 605; Fox, vi. 261; Strype, Cranm. ii. 242: Edward in his Journal dates this on the 13th.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. commands, yet was it done so coldly and with such reluctancy as laid them open to the spoil, though not to the loss, of their bishopricks. Of which last sort were Kitching, Bishop of Landaff, Salcot (otherwise called Capon), Bishop of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry and Litchfield. Of which the last, to keep his ground, was willing to fling up a great part of his lands; and, out of those which either belonged unto his see or the Dean and Chapter, to raise a Baron's estate, (and the title of the barony too[1]), for Sir William Paget, not born to any such fair fortunes as he thus acquired. Salcot of Salisbury, knowing himself obnoxious to some court-displeasures, redeems his peace, and keeps himself out of such danger, by making long leases of the best of his farms and manors; known afterwards most commonly by the name of Capon's Feathers. But none of them more miserably dilapidated the patrimony of his see than Bishop Kitching of Landaff. A church so liberally endowed by the munificence and piety of some great persons in those times, that, if it were possessed but of a tenth part of what once it had, it might be reckoned (as is affirmed by Bishop Godwin, one of Kitching's successors) amongst the richest churches in these parts of Christendom[2]. But whatsoever Kitching found it, it was made poor enough before he left it—so poor, that it is hardly able to keep the pot boiling for a parson's dinner.

Deprivations and appointments of Bishops.

4. Of the first rank I reckon Voysie of Exeter, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, for the province of Canterbury: together with Bishop Tonstal of Durham, in the province of York. The first, once governor to the Princess Mary, preferred afterwards by King Henry to the Lord-Presidentship of Wales and the see of Exeter[3]. Which see he

[1] Beaudesert. See above, p. 180. Comp. Browne Willis, Surv. of Cathedrals, ii. 380.

[2] "Satis patet hanc Ecclesiam, si vel decimam partem hodie possideret eorum prædiorum quæ hominum piorum munificentia illi sunt olim concessa, inter opulentissimas Christiani orbis fortasse numerandam; cum jam vix habeat unde se sartam tectamque possit tueri. Et episcopatus tot largitionibus ditatus, totius tamen Angliæ Walliæque est longe tenuissimus, adeo ut sacerdotia non pauca diœcesis habeat, quæ fructus longe uberiores incumbentibus reddant, quam suo Episcopo hæc sedes."—Godwin, de Præsul. 593.

[3] 1519.—Godw. 415.

found possessed, at his coming to it, of twenty-two goodly manors, and fourteen mansion-houses, richly furnished. But the man neither could approve the proceedings of the King in the Reformation, nor cared, in that respect, to preserve the patrimony of the Church for those who might differ in opinion from him. And being set upon the pin[1], he made such havoc of his lands, before he was brought under a deprivation, that he left but seven or eight of the worst manors, and those let out into long leases, and charged with pensions; and not above two houses, both bare and naked[2]. Having lost so much footing within his diocese, it is no marvel if he could no longer keep his standing. For, being found an open hinderer of the work in hand, and secretly to have fomented the rebellion
01 of the Devonshire men, in the year 1549, he either was deprived of, or, (as some say), resigned his bishoprick, within few months after the sentence passed on Gardiner: but lived to be restored again (as Gardiner also was) in the time of Queen Mary[3]. Of Day and Heath I have nothing to remember more particularly, but that they were both deprived on the tenth of October[4], and lived both to a restitution in Queen

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

[1] Johnson gives as one sense of the word *Pin*, "a note, a strain; in low language."

[2] "Unam duntaxat reliquit, omni supellectile vacuam et nudatam."—Godwin, 416. Voysey reduced the value of the bishoprick from £1565 to £500.—Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 277; Comp. Vowel-Hooker, in Holinsh. iv. 422. Wharton (Harmer, Spec. of Errors, &c. 100) apologises for the Bishop in the matter of the alienations, on the ground that the peremptory proceedings of the government allowed him no choice.

[3] This account of Voysey is from Godwin de Præsulibus, 416-7. He had long resided at Sutton Coldfield, in Warwickshire, his native place, leaving the management of his diocese to Coverdale, afterwards his successor.—(See Latimer, i. 272.) It does not appear that he gave any active encouragement to the rebellion. Godwin's words are, "Episcopo, tanquam data opera tam procul absenti, ejusque vel socordiæ vel malitiæ, hæc seditio imputatur."—Comp. Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 270. Voysey was now 99 years of age.

[4] Stow, 605. Edw. Journal says Oct. 6. Heath's troubles originated in his refusal to subscribe the Ordinal, after having been named as a member of the commission for drawing it up.—Burnet, III. 374; Strype, Cranm. ii. 246-7. Day was deprived for refusing to pull down altars, and for preaching in his diocese against the King's proceedings. —Strype, Cranm. ii. 249, seqq. On these deprivations, see Wharton, Spec. of Errors, 114-118.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. Mary's reign: Heath, in the mean time, being liberally and lovingly entertained by the Bishop of London, and afterwards preferred to the archbishoprick of York, and made Lord Chancellor of England. Nor shall I now say more of Tonstal, but that, being cast into the Tower on the twentieth day of December, he was there kept until the dissolution of his bishoprick by Act of parliament: of which we shall speak more at large in its proper place[1].

5. We must not leave these churches vacant; considering that it was not long before they were supplied with new incumbents. To Gardiner, in the see of Winton, succeeded Doctor John Poynet, Bishop of Rochester—a better scholar than a Bishop, and purposely preferred to that wealthy bishoprick, to serve other men's turns. For, before he was well warm in his see, he dismembered from it the goodly palace of Marwel, with the manors and parks of Marwel and Twiford, which had before been seized upon by the Lord Protector, to make a Knight's estate for Sir Henry Seimour, as before was signified[2]. The palace of Waltham, with the park and manor belonging to it, and some good farms depending on it, were seized into the hands of the Lord Treasurer Pawlet, Earl of Wiltshire; who, having got into possession so much lands of the bishoprick, conceived himself in a fit capacity to affect, (as shortly after he obtained), the title of Lord Marquess of Winchester. But this, with many of the rest of Poynet's grants, leases, and alienations[3], were again recovered to the Church by the power of Gardiner, when, being restored unto his see, he was by Queen Mary made Lord Chancellor. To

[1] See below, vii. 7; Stow, 607. Tonstal was accused of fomenting a northern rebellion. There was an attempt to proceed against him by a bill of attainder. Cranmer spoke against it in the House of Lords, and protested against it, although with no one but Lord Stourton to support him; but it was lost in the lower house; on which a commission was issued for examination of the Bishop's case. Edward notes in his Journal, Dec. 20, 1551: "The Bishop of Duresme was, for concealment of treason written to him and not disclosed at all till the party did open him, committed to the Tower."—Comp. Burnet, II. 402; III. 392-4; Strype, Cranm. ii. 203—5; Eccl. Mem. ii. 366; Wharton (Harmer), 109, 119.

[2] Sup. p. 8.

[3] For Poynet's alienations, see Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 272.

Voysie, in the see of Exeter, succeeded Doctor Miles Coverdale: one who had formerly assisted Tyndal in translating the Bible into English[1], and for the most part lived at Tubing, an university belonging to the Duke of Saxony; where he received the degree of Doctor. Returning into England, in the first year of King Edward, and growing into great esteem for piety and diligent preaching, he was consecrated Bishop of this church, the thirtieth of August[2]: the bones whereof were so clean picked that he could not easily leave them with less flesh than he found upon them. Nor have we more to say of Scory, who succeeded Day, but that, being consecrated Bishop of Rochester, in the place of Poynet, on the thirtieth of August also, he succeeded Day at Chichester in the year next following[3]. Of which bishoprick he was deprived[4] in the time of Queen Mary; and afterwards preferred by Queen Elizabeth to the see of Hereford, in which place he died. To Heath, at Worcester, no successor was at all appointed: that bishoprick being given *in commendam* to Bishop Hooper, who, having been consecrated Bishop of Glocester on the eighth of March, was made the commendatory of this see[5]; to which he could not legally be translated, (as the case then stood), both Latimer and Heath being still alive, and both reputed Bishops of it by their several parties[6]. And here we have a strange conversion of affairs: for whereas heretofore the county of Glocester was a part of the diocese of Worcester, out of which it was taken by King Henry, when first made a bishoprick,—the diocese of Worcester was now laid to the see of Glocester. Not that I think that Hooper was suffered to enjoy the temporal patrimony of that wealthy bishoprick: but that he was to exercise the

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

[1] Coverdale did not assist Tyndale, but was engaged on an independent translation at the same time with him; and this was used in the completion of the version begun by Tyndale. Sup. p. 42; Comp. Coverd. ed. Park. Soc. II. Pref. ix.

[2] Godw. de Præsul. 417.

[3] By letters patent, dated May 23, 1552.—Godwin, 513.

[4] The editions have a second "of" in this place.

[5] By patent, May 20, 1552.—Godw. 470.

[6] There were *five* persons alive at this time who had held the see of Worcester, or had pretensions to it: (1) Pates, of whom an account has been given, p. 65, and who became the actual possessor in the reign of Mary; (2) Latimer; (3) Bell, who succeeded on Latimer's resignation, and himself resigned in 1543; (4) Heath; (5) Hooper.—See Godwin, 468-470.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. jurisdiction and episcopality, with some short allowance for his pains[1]. The pirates of the court were too intent on all advantages, to let such a vessel pass untouched, in which they might both find enough to enrich themselves, and yet leave that which was sufficient to content the merchant. And this perhaps may be one reason why Latimer was not restored unto his bishoprick, upon this avoidance: not in regard of any sensible dislike which was taken at him by the court for his downright preaching, or that the Bishops feared from him the 102
like disturbances which they had met withal in Hooper. But, I conceive, the principal reason of it might proceed from his own unwillingness to cumber his old age with the trouble of business, and to take that burthen on his shoulders which he had long before thrown off with such great alacrity. And possible enough it is, that, finding his abilities more proper for the pulpit than they were for the consistory, he might desire to exercise himself in that employment in which he might appear most serviceable both to God and his Church. For both before and after this we find him frequent in the pulpit before the King, and have been told of his diligent and constant preaching in other places. His sermons, for the most part, (as the use then was), upon the Gospels of the Day: by which he had the opportunity of opening and expounding a greater portion of the Word of God than if he had confined his meditations to a single text. His entertainment generally with Archbishop Cranmer, where he found all necessary accommodation; and so extremely honoured by all sorts of people, that he never lost the name of Lord, and was still looked on as a Bishop, though without a bishoprick.

The Princess Mary adheres to the Romish religion.

6. But, notwithstanding the remove of so many Bishops, there still remained one rub in the way, which did as much retard the progress of the Reformation as any of the rest, if not all together. The Princess Mary, having been bred up from her infancy in the Romish religion, could not be won by any arguments and persuasions to change her mind, or permit that any alteration should be made in those public offices to which

[1] The bishopricks were at first united, and it was intended that the Bishop should have his title from both; but in 1552 "Gloucester was suppressed, and converted into an exempted archdeaconry; and Hooper was made Bishop of Worcester."—Burnet, II. 418. Comp. Harmer (Wharton), 118; Browne Willis, ii. 631.

she had so long been used. The King had writ many letters to her, in hope to take her off from those affections which she carried to the Church of Rome. The like done also by the Lords of the Council, and with like success. For,—besides that she conceived her judgment built on so good a foundation as could not easily be subverted,—there were some politic considerations, which possibly might prevail more with her than all other arguments. She was not to be told that, by the religion of the Protestants, her mother's marriage was condemned; that by the same she was declared to be illegitimate, and consequently made uncapable to succeed in the crown, in case she should survive her brother. All which she must acknowledge to be legally and justly determined. Upon these grounds, she holds herself to her first resolution, keeps up the mass, with all the rites and ceremonies belonging to it, and suffers divers persons, besides her own domestic servants, to be present at it. The Emperor had so far mediated in her behalf, that her chaplains were permitted to celebrate the mass in her presence; but with this caution and restriction,—that they should celebrate the same in her presence only. For the transgressing of which bounds, Mallet and Barkley, her two chaplains, were committed prisoners, in December last[1]; of which she makes complaint to the Lords of the Council, but finds as cold return from them as they did from her. An. Reg. 5, 1551.

7. A plot is thereupon contrived for conveying her out of the realm by stealth; to transport her from Essex, where she then lay, to the court of the Queen Regent in Flanders;—some of her servants sent before, Flemish ships ready to receive her, and a commotion to be raised in that county, that in the heat and tumult of it she might make her escape. The King is secretly advertised of this design, and presently dispatcheth certain forces under Sir John Gates, then newly made Lieutenant of the Band of Pensioners, to prevent the practice, secures his coasts, orders his ships to be in readiness, and speeds away the Lord Chancellor Rich, with Sir William Petre, to bring the Princess to the court[2]. Which being

[1] Edw. Journal, in Burnet, II. ii. 31. On the proceedings with the Princess, see Fox, ii. 700-710, ed. 1631; Harmer (Wharton), 103-8; Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. b. ii. c. 1; Ellis, Orig. Letters, First Series, ii. 176-182.

[2] Edw. Journ. July 22, (Burnet, II. ii. 27.)

An. Reg. 5, 1551. effected at the last, though not without extreme unwillingness on her part to begin the journey, Inglesfield, Walgrave, and Rochester, being all of principal place about her, on the thirtieth of October were committed to custody; which adds a new affliction to her, but there was no remedy. The Lords of the Council, being commanded by the King to attend upon her, declared in the name of his Highness how long he had 103
permitted her the mass; that, finding how unmoveable she was from her former courses, he resolved not to endure it longer, unless he might perceive some hope of her conformity within short time after. To which the Princess answered—that "her soul was God's; and for her faith, that, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it." The council thereunto rejoin, that the King intended not to constrain her faith, but to restrain her in the outward profession of it, in regard of those many dangers and inconveniencies which might ensue on the example. Which interchange of words being passed, she is appointed, for the present, to remain with the King; but neither Mallet nor any other of her chaplains permitted to have speech with her or access unto her[1].

The Emperor interferes in her behalf.

8. The Emperor, being certified how all things passed, sends an Ambassador to the King, with a threatening message; even to the denouncing of a war, in case his cousin, the Princess Mary, were not permitted to enjoy the exercise of her own religion[2]. To gratify whom in his desires the Lords of the Council generally seemed to be very inclinable. They well considered of the prejudice which must fall upon the English merchants, if they should lose their trade in Flanders, where they had a whole year's cloth, besides other goods: and they knew well what inconvenience must befall the King, who had there five hundred quintals of powder and good store of armour; which would be seized into the Emperor's hands, and employed against him if any breach should grow between them[3]. The King is therefore moved, with the joint consent of the whole board, to grant the Emperor's request, and to dispense with the utmost rigour of the law in that particular, for fear of draw-

[1] Hayward, 315.

[2] The Emperor's interpositions in behalf of Mary are the subjects of frequent entries in Edward's Journal.

[3] Edw. Journal, 34-5; Hayw. 316.

ing upon himself a greater mischief. But they found him so well studied in the grounds and principles of his religion, that no consideration drawn from any reason of state could induce him to it. It was thereupon thought fit to send the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, being both members of that body, to try what they could do upon him in the way of argument. By them, the point being brought unto such an issue as might give them some hopes of being admitted, it was propounded to him as their opinion, (after some progress made in the disputation,) that, though it were a sin to give licence to sin, yet a connivance of it might be allowed, in case it neither were too long, nor without some probable hope of a reformation[1]. With which nicety the young King was so unsatisfied, that he declared a resolution rather to venture life and all things else which were dear unto him, than to give way to any thing which he knew to be against the truth. Upon which words, the King expressed his inward trouble by a flood of tears; and the Bishops on the sight thereof wept as fast as he: the King conceiving himself wronged, in being so unreasonably pressed; and the Bishops thinking themselves neglected, because unseasonably denied[2]. Thus stood they silent for a time, —each party looking sadly on the apprehension of those extremities which this dispute had brought upon them: as certainly the picture of unkindness is never represented in more lively colours, than when it breaks out betwixt those who are most tenderly affected unto one another. The Bishops there- An. Reg. 5, 1551.

[1] The words of King Edward's Journal (Burnet, II. ii. 34) are, "The Bishops of Canterbury, London, and Rochester did consider, to give licence to sin was sin; to suffer and wink at it for a time might be borne, so all haste possible might be used." Heylyn's statement appears to be taken from Hayward; but the meaning is probably better given by Strype in Kennett, ii. 315, "To suffer and wink at it [i. e. not at *sin*, but at the Lady Mary's mass in her household] might be borne, so all haste possible might be used to take away such an occasion of sin." This interpretation is countenanced by the letter of the council to Mary, Dec. 25, 1550 (quoted below, Mary, Introd. § 23). "Thus much was granted, that it might be suffered and winked at if you had the private mass used in your own closet for a season, until you might be better informed, whereof there was some hope, having only with you a few of your own chamber, so that for all the rest of your household the service of the realm should be used."—Comp. Edw. Journal, 41, 49.

[2] Speed, 839.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. upon withdrew, admiring at such great abilities in so young a King; and magnified the name of God, for giving them a Prince of such eminent piety.

9. This being made known unto the council, it was thought necessary to dismiss the Emperor's Ambassador with such an answer as should both give the English time to fetch off their goods, and let his master have the rest of the winter to allay his heats. It was therefore signified unto him, that the King would shortly send an agent to reside with the Emperor, authorised and instructed in all particulars which might beget a right understanding between both Princes. Thus answered, he returns to the Emperor's court: whom Wotton shortly after followeth, sufficiently instructed, to desire the Emperor to be less violent in his requests; and to advertise him, that "the Lady Mary, as she was his cousin, 104
so she was the King's sister, and which is more, his subject: that, seeing the King was a sovereign Prince, without dependency upon any but God, it was not reason that the Emperor should intermeddle, either with ordering his subjects, or directing the affairs of his realm." But so far he was authorised to offer, "that whatsoever favour the King's subjects had in the Emperor's dominions for their religion, the same should the Emperor's subjects receive in England. Further than this, as the King, his master, would not go, so it would be a lost labour to desire it of him[1]." This was enough to let the Emperor see how little his threats were feared, which made him the less forward in sending more. Which passages relating to the Princess Mary I have laid together, for the better understanding how all matters stood about this time betwixt her and the King; though possibly the sending of

[1] Strype shews, in his note on Hayward (Kennett, ii. 317-8), that that writer, who is here followed, has greatly misrepresented the tone of the instructions given to Wotton. The statement as to an offer of equal liberty in religion is founded on a mistake—"As the King permitted the Emperor's Ambassador to use that manner of religion which he used in his own country, so also it was desired that the King's Ambassador in the Low Countries might use the same religion that he had used here in our country; which the Emperor had denied to the King's former Ambassador."—Comp. Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 263; Edw. Journal, Apr. 10, 1551; (Burnet, II. ii. 36) which, however—probably from its conciseness—appears more peremptory in tone.

Wotton to the Emperor might be the work of the next year, when the King's affairs were better settled than they were at the present. An. Reg. 5, 1551.

10. For the King, finding the extraordinary coldness of the Emperor, when his assistance was required for defence of Bulloign[1], and the hot pursuit of his demands of a toleration for the family of the Lady Mary, conceived it most expedient for his affairs to unite himself more strongly and entirely in a league with France. For entrance whereunto, an hint was taken from some words which fell from Guidotti at the treaty of Bulloign: when he propounded, that, instead of the Queen of Scots, whom the English Commissioners demanded for a wife to their King, a daughter of the French King might be joined in marriage with him: affirming merrily, that if it were a dry peace, it would hardly be durable. These words, which then were taken only for a sleight or diversion, are now more seriously considered; as many times the smallest overtures produce conclusions of the greatest consequence. A solemn embassy is thereupon directed to the court of France: the Marquess of Northampton nominated for the chief Ambassador,—associated with the Bishop of Ely, Sir Philip Hobby, Gentleman Usher of the Order[2], Sir William Pickering, Sir Thomas Smith, principal Secretary of State, and Sir John Mason, Clerk of the Council, as Commissioners with him. And, that they might appear in the court of France with the greater splendour, they were accompanied with the Earls of Arundel, Rutland, and Ormond, and the Lords Lisle, Fitzwater, Abergavenny, Bray, and Evers, with Knights and Gentlemen of note, to the number of six and twenty or thereabouts[3]. Their train so limited, for avoiding of contention amongst themselves, that no Earl should have above four attendants, no Baron above three, nor any Knight or Gentleman above two apiece; the Commissioners not being limited to any number, as the others were. Setting forwards in the month of June, they were met by the Lord Constable Chastilion[4], and by him conducted to the court, lying at Chasteau Bryan: the nearer to which as they ap- Embassy to France.

[1] Sup. p. 181.

[2] The order of the Garter was simply called by this name, as in Holinsh. iii. 862.

[3] Edw. Journal, in Burnet, II. ii. 39.

[4] Gaspard de Coligny.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. proached, the greater was the concourse of the French nobility to attend upon them. Being brought unto the King, then being in his bed-chamber, the Marquess first presented him, in the name of his King, with the order of St George, called the Garter; wherewith he was presently invested by Sir Philip Hobby; who, being an officer of the order, was made Commissioner (as it seemed) for that purpose chiefly; rewarded for it by that King with a chain of gold, valued at two hundred pounds, and a gown richly trimmed with ayglets, which he had then upon his back[1].

11. This ceremony being thus performed, the Bishop of Ely, in a short speech, declared how desirous his master was, not only to continue, but to increase amity with the French King; that for this end he had sent the order of the Garter, to be both a testimony and tie of love between them—to which purpose principally those societies of honour were first devised: declaring, that they had commission to make overtures of some other matters, which was like to make the concord betwixt the Kings and their realms not only more durable, but in all expectation perpetual; and thereupon desired the King to appoint some persons, enabled with authority to treat with them. 105
To which it was answered by the Cardinal of Lorrain, in the name of the King, that his master was ready to apprehend and embrace all offers tending to increase of amity; and the rather for that long hostility had made their new friendship both more weak in itself, and more obnoxious unto jealousies and distrusts: and therefore promised on the King's behalf, that Commissioners should be appointed to treat with them about any matters which they had in charge. In pursuance whereof, the said Cardinal, the Constable Chastilion, the Duke of Guise, and others of like eminent note, being appointed for the treaty, the English Commissioners first prosecute their old demand for the Queen of Scots. To which it was answered by the French, that they had parted with too much treasure, and spent too many lives, upon any conditions to let her go: and that conclusion had been made long before for her marriage

[1] Edw. Journ. 41; Hayward, 318 (whom Heylyn follows in his account of this negotiation.) A report of it in a letter from the Ambassadors to the council, is printed by Tytler, Edw. and Mary, i. 385-402.

with the Daulphin of France. The English upon this proposed a marriage between their King and the Lady Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of France, (who after was married to Philip the Second); to which the French Commissioners seemed very inclinable; with this proviso notwithstanding, that neither party should be bound, either in conscience or honour, until the Lady should accomplish twelve years of age. AN. REG. 5, 1551. A marriage between Edward and a French Princess agreed on.

12. And so far matters went on smoothly: but, when they came to talk of portion, there appeared a vast difference between them. The English Commissioners ask no more than fifteen hundred thousand crowns; but fell, by one hundred thousand after another, till they sunk to eight[1]. The French, on the other side, began as low, at one hundred thousand, but would be drawn no higher than to promise two: that being, (as they affirmed), the greatest portion which ever any of the French Kings had given with a daughter. But at the last it was accorded, that the lady should be sent into England at the French King's charges, when she was come within three months of the age of marriage, sufficiently appointed with jewels, apparel, and convenient furniture for her house; that at the same time bonds should be delivered for performance of covenants, at Paris by the French, and at London by the King of England; and that, in case the lady should not consent, after she should be of age for marriage, the penalty should be 150,000 crowns. The perfecting of the negociation, and the settling of the lady's jointure, referred to such Ambassadors as the French King should send to the court of England. Appointed whereunto were the Lord Marshal of France, the Duke of Guise, the President Mortuillier, the principal Secretary of that King, and the Bishop of Perigeux; who, being attended by a train of 400 men, were conducted from Gravesend by the Lord Admiral Clinton, welcomed with great shot from all the ships which lay on the Thames, and a volley of ordnance from the Tower, and lodged in Suffolk-place in Southwark. From whence, attended the next day to the King's house at Richmond: his Majesty then remaining at Hampton Court, by

[1] Edward in his Journal, p. 39, says that the English commissioners were instructed to ask for "*at least* 800,000 crowns."—Comp. Tytler, Edw. and Mary, i. 400, note.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. reason of the sweating sickness, (of which more anon), which at that time was at the highest.

13. Having refreshed themselves that night, they were brought the next day before the King, to whom the Marshal presented, in the name of his master, the collar and habit of St Michael[1],—being at that time the principal order of that realm—in testimony of that dear affection which he did bear unto him; greater than which, (as he desired him to believe), a father could not bear unto his natural son. And then, addressing himself in a short speech unto his Highness, he desired him, amongst other things, not to give entertainment to vulgar rumours, which might breed jealousies and distrusts between the crowns; and that, if any difference did arise between the subjects of both kingdoms, they might be ended by commissioners, without engaging either nation in the acts of hostility. To which the King returned a very favourable answer, and so dismissed them for the present. Two or three days being spent in feasting, the commissioners on both sides settled themselves upon the matter of the treaty; confirming 106
what had passed before, and adding thereunto the proportioning of the lady's jointure. Which was accorded at the last to the yearly value of ten thousand marks English; with this condition interposed, that, if the King died before the marriage, all her pretensions to that jointure should be buried with him. All matters being thus brought unto an happy conclusion, the French prepared for their departure: at which time the Marshal presented Monsieur Boys, to remain as Lieger with the King, and the Marquess presented Mr Pickering, to be his Majesty's resident in the court of France. And so the French take leave of England,—rewarded by the King in such a royal and munificent manner as shewed he very well understood what belonged to a royal suitor: those which the French King had designed for the English Ambassadors—(not actually bestowed, till all things had been fully settled and dispatched in England)—hardly amounting to a fourth part of that munificence which the King had shewed unto the French[2].

Progress of the Reformation.

14. Grown confident of his own security by this new alliance, the King not only made less reckoning of the Emperor's interposings in the case of religion, but proceeded more vigor-

[1] Edw. Journ. 45. [2] Hayward, 319-20.

rously than before in the Reformation: the building up of which upon a surer and more durable bottom was contrived this year, though not established till the next. Nothing as yet had been concluded positively and dogmatically in points of doctrine, but as they were to be collected from the Homilies and the public Liturgy; and those but few, in reference to the many controversies which were to be maintained against the Papists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries of that age. Many disorders had grown up in this little time, in the officiating the Liturgy, the vestures of the Church, and the habit of the Churchmen; began by Calvin, prosecuted by Hooper, and countenanced by the large immunities which had been given to John à Lasco and his church of strangers. And unto these the change of altars into tables gave no small increase;—as well by reason of some differences which grew amongst the ministers themselves upon that occasion, as in regard of that irreverence which it bred in the people, to whom it made the Sacrament to appear less venerable than before it did. The people had been so long accustomed to receive that Sacrament upon their knees, that no rule or canon was thought necessary to keep them to it; which thereupon was not imprudently omitted in the public rubrics. The change of altars into tables, the practice of the church of strangers, and John à Lasco's book in maintenance of sitting at the holy table, made many think that posture best which was so much countenanced; and what was like to follow upon such a liberty, the proneness of those times to heterodoxies and profaneness gave just cause to fear. Somewhat was therefore to be done to prevent the mischief: and nothing could prevent it better, than to reduce the people to their ancient custom by some rule or rubric, by which they should be bound to receive it kneeling. So, for the ministers themselves, they seemed to be as much at a loss in their officiating at the table, as the people were in their irreverences to the blessed Sacrament. Which cannot better be expressed than in the words of some Popish prelates, by whom it was objected unto some of our chief reformers. Thus White of Lincoln chargeth it upon Bishop Ridley—(to omit his profane calling of the Lord's Table, in what posture soever situated, by the name of an oyster-board,)—"That when their table was constituted, they could never be content

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. in placing the same; now east, now north, now one way, now another: until it pleased God, of his goodness, to place it quite out of the church[1]." The like did Weston, (the Prolocutor of the Convocation, in the first of Queen Mary), in a disputation held with Latimer; telling him, with reproach and contempt enough, that the Protestants, having turned their table, "were like a company of apes, that knew not which way to turn their tails; looking one day east and another west, one this way and another that way, as their fancies led[2] them[3]." Thus finally, one Miles Huggard[4], in a book called "The Display of Protestants[5]," doth report the business—"How long (say they) were they learning to set their tables to minister the Communion upon? First they placed it aloft, where the high altar stood; then must it be removed from the wall, that one might go between—the ministers being in contention on whether part to turn their faces, either toward the west, the north, or south; some would stand westward, some northward, some southward." It was not to be thought but that the Papists would much please themselves in these disorders; and that this difference and diversity, though in circumstances only, might draw contempt upon the Sacrament itself, and give great scandal unto many moderate and well-meaning men. A rubric therefore is resolved on, by which the minister which officiates should be pointed to a certain place; and, by the rubric then devised, the north side was thought fitter than any other. 107

Revision of the Liturgy.

15. But the main matters which were now brought under consideration, were the reviewing of the Liturgy, and the composing of a book of Articles: this last "for the avoiding diversities of opinions, and for the stablishing of consent touching true religion;" the other, for removing of such offences as had been taken by Calvin and his followers at some parts thereof. For Calvin, having broke the ice, resolved to make his way through it to the mark he aimed at, which was, to have this Church depend upon his direction, and not to be less estimable here than in other places[6]. To which end, as

[1] Acts and Mon. *Author.* [Fox, vii. 536.]

[2] Edd. 1, 2, "lead." [3] Fox, vi. 510. [4] Edd. "Hubbard"

[5] Printed 1556. Page 81. *Author.* [Hogherd, or Huggard, was a tradesman—(Tanner, Bibliotheca, 406, styles him *Caligarius*)—in Pudding Lane. For specimens of his book, see Maitland on the Reformation, British Magazine, xxxi. 131.] [6] See Eliz. vi. 12.

he formerly had applied himself to the Lord Protector, (as appears by his letter of the year anno 1549[1]), so now he sets upon the King, the Council, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in hope to bring them to his bent. In his letters to the King and Council, (as himself signified to Bullinger, on the 29th of August), he exciteth them to proceed to a reformation; that is to say, to such a reformation as he had projected, and without which his followers would not be contented[2]. In his letters to the King alone, he lets him know that many things were still amiss in the state of the kingdom, which stood in need of reformation[3]. And finally, in those to Cranmer, he certifies him, that in the service of this Church, as then it stood, there remained a whole mass of Popery, which did not only darken, but destroy God's holy worship[4]. But, fearing he might not edify with so wise a Prince, assisted by such a prudent Council and such learned prelates, he hath his agents in the Court, the country, and the Universities, by whom he drives on his design in all parts at once. And so far he prevailed in the first two years, that, in the Convocation which began in the former year, anno 1550, the first debate amongst the prelates was of such doubts as had arisen about some things contained in the Common Prayer Book: and more particularly touching such feasts as were retained and such as had been abrogated by the rules thereof; the form of words used at the giving of the bread, and the different manner of administering the holy Sacrament. Which being signified unto the Prolocutor and the rest of the clergy, who had received somewhat in charge

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

[1] Sup. p. 166. The original French is printed for the first time by Henry, Leben Calvins, ii. Append. 26—41.

[2] Ut eos incitaremus ad pergendum, &c. p. 98. [ed. Genev. 1575.] *Author.* ["Bene habet, quod non eundem modo animum Deus vobis contulit, ut Regem Angliæ et ejus consiliarios incitaremus ad pergendum; sed fecit ut consilia nostra tam apte inter se congruerent."—This is the letter already quoted, p. 192, n. 1. Its date is April 10, 1551.]

[3] In statu regni multa adhuc desiderantur, p. 384. [ed. Gen.] *Author.* [This is from a letter to Farel, June 15, 1551, in which Calvin reports the reception which the bearer of letters from him had met with in England. "Cantuariensis nihil me utilius facturum admonuit, quam si ad Regem sæpius scriberem. Hoc mihi longe gratius quam si ingenti pecuniæ summa ditatus forem. In statu Regni multa adhuc desiderantur."

[4] Quæ non obscuret modo, &c. [sed propemodum obruat purum et genuinum Dei cultum.] *Author.* [p. 101. ed. Gen.]

An. Reg. 5, 1551. about it the day before,—answer was made, that they had not yet sufficiently considered of the points proposed, but that they would give their lordships some account thereof in the following session. But what account was given, appears not in the acts of that Convocation; of which there is nothing left upon record but this very passage[1].

16. For the avoiding of these doubts, the satisfying of the importunities of some, and rectifying the disorders of others, rather than in regard of any impiety or impertinency in the book itself, in was brought under a review; and, being so reviewed, was ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament in the following year. By the tenor of which act it may appear, first, That there was nothing contained in the said first book but what was "agreeable to the Word of God, and the primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm:" secondly, That "such doubts as had been raised in the use and exercise thereof, proceeded rather from the curiosity of the minister and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause:" and therefore, thirdly, That "it was found expedient that the said book should be faithfully perused, explained, and made fully perfect in all such places in which it was necessary to be made more earnest and fit for the stirring up of all Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God." So far we are directed by the light of this Act of Parliament, 5, 6 Edw. VI. cap. 1. But if we would desire to know the names of those good and godly men by whom it was so explained and altered, in that it leaves us in the dark: none of them being named, nor any way laid open for the finding of them. So that the most that can be done is to go by conjecture, and to ascribe it to those men who had first composed it, and who were afterwards authorised for drawing up the Form of Consecration, &c., annexed to this new book as a part thereof, and so adjudged to be by two Acts of Parliament[2]. 108

Articles of Religion. 17. "For the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for stablishing consent touching true religion," it was thought necessary to compose a book of Articles: in which should be contained the common principles of the Christian faith, in which all parties did agree; together with the most material points

[1] Wilkins gives no particulars of its deliberations, iv. 60.

[2] Sup. p. 172; Pref. "To the Reader," p. xiv. Comp. Eliz. viii. 3.

in which they differed. For the better performing of which work, Melancthon's company and assistance had been long desired. That he held correspondence once with the King and Archbishop Cranmer, appears by his epistles of the year 1549, 1550 and 1551; but that he came not over, as had been expected[1], must be imputed, either to our home-bred troubles, or the great sickness of this year, or the deplorable death of the Duke of Somerset, on whose integrity and candour he did most rely. Yet the best was, that, though Erasmus was dead, and Melancthon absent, yet were they to be found both alive and present in their learned writings. By which, together with the Augustan Confession, the composers of those Articles were much directed; not that they looked upon them as the rule or canon, but only as subservient helps to promote the service. But who they were that laboured in this weighty work, and made it ready for debate and conference in the next Convocation—as I have nowhere found, so I cannot conjecture: unless, perhaps, we may attribute the honour of it to those Bishops, and the other learned men, before remembered, whose hands and heads had before been exercised in the public formulas. That Cranmer had a great hand in them, is a thing past question; who therefore takes upon himself as the author of them: for which consult the Acts and Mon. fol. 1704[2]. In which we are to understand him as the principal architect, who contrived the building, and gave the inferior workmen their several parts and offices in that great employment; and not that it was the sole work of his hands, or had been agitated and debated in no head but his. So did the Emperor Justinian, in the book of Institutes, and Theodosius in the Code, Boniface in the Decretals, and John the XXIInd in that part of the Canon Law which they call the Extravagants: the honour of which works was severally arrogated by them, because performed by their encouragement and at their appointment. But whosoever laboured in the preparation of these Articles, certain it is that they were only a rude draught, and of no signification, till they had passed the vote of the Convocation; and there we shall hear further of them[3].

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

[1] Sup. p. 164, n. 1.

[2] Fox, viii. 58; Comp. Jenkyns, Pref. to Cranmer, cviii; Laurence, Bampt. Lectures, Serm. II. and the notes on it.

[3] See Edw. vi. 2 3.

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

The merchants of the Steel-yard deprived of their privileges.

18. In reference to the polity and good order of the commonwealth, there were two things done of great importance —the one redounding to the present, the other to the future, benefit of the English nation. Of which last sort was the suppressing of the corporation of Merchant-strangers,—the Merchants of the Steel-yard, as they commonly called them. Concerning which we are to know, that the English, in the times foregoing, being neither strong in shipping nor much accustomed to the seas, received all such commodities as were not of the growth of their own country from the hands of strangers, resorting hither from all parts to upbraid our laziness. Amongst which, the merchants of the East-Land parts of Almain, or High Germany, (well known in former stories by the name of Easterlings), used to bring hither yearly great quantities of wheat, rye, and other grain, as also cables, ropes, 109
masts, pitch, tar, flax, hemp, linen cloth, wainscots, wax, steel, and other profitable merchandises, for the use of this kingdom. For their encouragement wherein they were amply privileged, exempt from many impositions which Merchant-strangers use to pay in all other countries, erected into a corporation by King Henry the Third, commonly called *Guilda Aula Theutonicorum*[1]: permitted first to carry out wools unwrought, and afterwards a certain number of cloths, when the English were grown skilful in that manufacture. Their court kept in a fair large house built near the Thames, which, from an open place wherein steel had formerly been sold, took the name of the Steel-yard. Grown rich, and driving a great trade, they drew upon themselves the envy (as all other Merchant-strangers did) of the Londoners chiefly, but generally of all the port-towns of England, who began now to think the seas as open to them as to any others. It was considered also by the Lords of the Council, that, by suffering all commodities of a foreign growth, and a great part of the commodities of the growth of England, to be imported and exported in outlandish bottoms, the English merchants were discouraged from navigation, whereby the shipping of the realm was kept low and despicable. It was therefore thought expedient, in reason of state, to make void their privileges, and put the trade into the hands of the English

[1] This was not the name of their corporation, but of their house, as is said by the original authority, Stow, Survey, 249.

merchant; for the doing whereof the Easterlings, or Merchants of the Steel-yard, had given cause enough. For, whereas they had anciently been permitted to ship away but eighty cloths, afterwards one hundred, and at last one thousand,—it was found that, at this time, they had transported in their own bottoms forty-four thousand English cloths, there being but eleven hundred shipped away by all strangers else. It was also found that, besides the native commodities of their own growth, they had brought in much strangers' goods of other countries, contrary to their agreement made with King Edward the Fourth; and that, upon a further search, their corporation was found imperfect, their numbers, names, and nations not sufficiently known[1]. This gave the Council ground enough for seizing all their liberties into the hands of the King, and never after to restore them, notwithstanding the great embassies and solicitations of the cities of Hamborough and Lubeck, and many other of the Hans-towns in Germany, who had seen[2] their factories and factors. And hereunto the seasonable coming of Sebastian Cabot—(of which more anon[3])—gave no small advantage: by whose encouragement and example the English nation began to fall in love with the seas, to try their fortunes in the discovery of unknown regions, and consequently to increase their shipping; till by degrees they came to drive a wealthy trade in most parts of the world, and to be more considerable for their naval power than all their neighbours[4]. An. Reg. 5, 1551.

19. But because all things could not be so well settled at the first as not to need the help and correspondencies of some foreign nations, it was thought fit to hearken to an intercourse with the crown of Sweden; which was then opportunely offered by Gustavus Ericus, the first of the family now reigning[5]. By which it was agreed— Treaty with the king of Sweden.

First, that, if the King of Sweden sent bullion into England, he might carry away English commodities without custom.

[1] Edward, Journal, Feb. 23, 1551-2.

[2] Qu. "been?"

[3] Edw. vii. 11. See Biddle's Memoir of Cabot, London, 1831, pp. 184-7.

[4] Hayward, 326.

[5] The arrival of a Swedish Ambassador is noticed in Edward's Journal, Apr. 7, 1550. For the exertions of Gustavus Vasa to extend the commerce of his country, see Geijer, Gesch. Schwedens, ii. 120. seqq. Hamb. 1834.

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

Secondly, that he should carry bullion to no other Prince.

Thirdly, that, if he sent ozimus, steel, copper, &c., he should pay custom for English commodities as an Englishman.

Fourthly, that, if he sent other merchandise, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger[1].

The coinage reformed.

20. Whereupon the mint was set on work, which brought the King, for the first year, the sum of twenty-four thousand pounds; of which the sum of fourteen thousand pounds was designed for Ireland, and the rest laid up in the exchequer[2]. Some other ways were devised also, that the mint might be kept going, and some agreement made with the mint-masters in the point of coinage: which proved more to 11
the advantage of the King than the present profit of the subject. For hereupon, on the ninth of July, the base money coined in the time of the king deceased[3] was publicly decried by proclamation—the shilling to go for ninepence only, and the groat for threepence[4]; and, on the seventeenth of August then next following, the nine-penny piece was decried to sixpence, the groat to twopence, the half groat to a penny[5]. By means whereof, he that was worth one thousand pound on the eighth of July, without any ill husbandry in himself or diminution of his stock, was found, before the eighteenth day of August, to be worth no more than half that sum; and so proportionably in all other sums, both above and under[6]. Which, though it caused many an heavy heart and much repining at the present, amongst all those whose wealth lay most especially in trade and money,—yet proved it by degrees a chief expedient for reducing the coin of England to its ancient value. For on the thirtieth of October, the subjects had the taste of the future benefit which was to be expected from it; there being then some coins proclaimed, both in gold and silver:—pieces of thirty shillings, ten shillings, and five shillings, of the finest gold; pieces of five shillings, two shillings sixpence, one shilling, sixpence, &c., of the purest silver. Which put the merchant in good hope,

[1] Apr. 24, 1550.—Edw. Journ. in Burnet, II. ii. 17; Hayward, 313.
[2] Edw. Journ. p. 25.
[3] Sup. p. 34.
[4] Edw. Journ. p. 44.
[5] Ibid. 48.
[6] Stow, 605; Sanders, 234.

that he should drive as rich a trade under this young King as in the happiest days of his predecessors, before the money was debased[1]. An. Reg. 5, 1551.

21. And now we come to the great troubles in the Court, began in the destruction of the Duke of Somerset, but ending in the untimely death of this hopeful King; so signified (as it was thought, upon the post-fact) by two strange presages within the compass of this year, and one which followed in the next. The first of this year was a great and terrible earthquake, which happened on the twenty-fifth of May, at Croydon and some other villages thereabouts, in the county of Surrey[2]. This was conceived to have prognosticated those concussions which afterwards happened in the Court, to the fall of the great Duke of Somerset, and divers gentlemen of note and quality who perished in the same ruin with him. The last was of six dolphins taken up in the Thames, three of them at Queenborough, and three near Greenwich; the least as big as any horse[3]. The rarity whereof occasioned some grave men to dispense with their prudence, and some great persons also to put off their state, that they might behold a spectacle so unusual to them. Their coming up so far, beheld by mariners as a presage of foul weather at sea; but afterwards by statesmen, of those storms and tempests which afterwards befel this nation, in the death of King Edward and the tempestuous times of Queen Mary's reign[4]. Omens of coming evil.

22. But the most sad presage of all was the breaking out of a disease called the Sweating Sickness; appearing first at Shrewsbury, on the fifteenth of April, and after spreading by degrees over all the kingdom; ending its progress in the north, about the beginning of October. Described by a very learned man[5] to be a new, strange, and violent disease: wherewith if any man were attacked[6], he died or escaped within nine hours, or ten at most; if he slept, (as most men desired to do), he died within six hours; if he took cold, he died in three. It was observed to rage chiefly amongst men of strongest consti- The sweating sickness.

1 Hayward, 313-4.
2 Stow, 605.
3 Aug. 8, 1552.—Stow, 608; Hayward, 322.*
4 Fuller, iv. 91.
5 Hayward, 319; Comp. Edw. Journal, 44; Stow, 605.
6 Edd. 1, 2, "attached."

An. Reg. 5, 1551. tution and years: few aged men, or women, or young children, being either subject to it or dying of it. Of which last sort, those of most eminent rank were two of the sons of Charles Brandon: both dying at Cambridge, both Dukes of Suffolk (as their father had been before;) but the youngest following his dead brother so close at the heels, that he only out-lived him long enough to enjoy that title. And, that which was yet most strange of all, no foreigner which was then in England—(four hundred French attending here, in the hottest of it, on that King's ambassadors)—did perish by it; the English being singled out, tainted, and dying of it, in all other countries, without any danger to the natives: called therefore in most Latin writers by the name of *Sudor Anglicus*, or The English Sweat[1]. First known amongst us in the beginning of the 111

[1] *Der Englische Schweiss* is the title of a very learned and interesting treatise on this malady, by Dr. J. C. F. Hecker, of Berlin, which, with the same author's essays on "The Black Death," and "The Dancing Mania," has been translated by Dr. B. G. Babington. ("The Epidemics of the Middle Ages," published by the Sydenham Society, Lond. 1844.) The sweating sickness first made its appearance in 1485, about the time of the battle of Bosworth (p. 181); a second and less formidable visitation took place in 1506 (198); a third, which extended to Calais, in 1517 (209); a fourth, in 1528, about which time violent epidemics were raging also in France and Italy; and in 1529, Germany and the north of Europe experienced it. The sickness of 1551, therefore, was the fifth which had appeared in England. It was never felt in either Scotland or Ireland. The circumstance of its attacking the English only (which was remarked while it raged at Calais in 1517, as well as on the last occasion), is ascribed in part to their habits of life. The celebrated physician Kaye (Caius), whose tract on the Sweat is reprinted in Dr Babington's Appendix, states that English persons of temperate habits were not attacked; and that some foreigners "of the English diet" fell victims (366). But, besides this, Dr Hecker supposes that there must have been "an unknown something in the English atmosphere, which so penetrated their bodies, overcharged as they were with crude juices, that their constitutions had the so-called *opportunity* [predisposition?]—i. e. were changed in such a manner as to fit them for the reception of the sweating sickness. Under such a condition, the common and more peculiar causes of this disease were not absolutely necessary, in order to induce its attack in a constitution thus long prepared for it: but the general causes of disease were sufficient of themselves to give it its last stimulus, although this should be in an entirely different climate, as in the present instance was the case with the English who were living in Spain, and with the Vene-

reign of King Henry the Seventh; and then beheld as a presage of that troublesome and laborious reign which after followed: the King being for the most part in continual action, and the subjects either sweating out their blood or treasure. Not then so violent and extreme as it was at the present; such infinite multitudes being at this time swept away by it, that there died eight hundred in one week in London only. An. Reg. 5, 1551.

23. These being looked on as presages, we will next take a view of those sad events which were supposed to be prognosticated by them; beginning first with the concussions of the Court by open factions, and ending in a sweating sickness, which drew out some of the best blood and most vital spirits of the kingdom. The factions headed by the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Warwick: whose reconciliation[1], on the Earl's part, was but feigned and counterfeit, though he had both given and taken pledges for a faster friendship. The good success he found in his first attempt against the Duke, when he degraded him from the office of Lord Protector, emboldened him to make some further trial of his fortune; to which there could not be a stronger temptation than the servility of some great men about the Court, in prostituting their affection to his pride and tyranny. Grown absolute in the Court, (but more by the weakness of others than any virtue of his own), he thought it no impossible matter to make that weakness an improvement of his strength and power. And, passing from one imagination to another, he fixed at last upon a fancy of transferring the imperial crown of this realm from the royal family of the Tudors unto that of the Dudleys. This to be done by marrying one of his sons to the Lady Jane, the eldest daughter of Henry, Lord Marquess Dorset, and of the Lady Frances[2] his wife, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Charles Brandon, the late Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Dowager of France, and Fresh plots of Warwick.

tian Ambassador Naugerio, who, in the year 1528, fell ill of the petechial fever, when far from Italy, [where it was then raging], and living in France" (294-5). A disease which Dr Hecker believes to have been identical with the English sweat, broke out in 1802 in the small Franconian town of Roettingen, where many persons were ignorantly "stewed to death" by the local practitioners, before the arrival of a physician who applied a treatment analogous to that formerly used in England. (324-8.) With this exception, Dr H. supposes that the epidemic has not recurred since the time to which the text relates.

[1] Sup. p. 180.

[2] Edd. 1, 2, "Francis."

An. Reg. 5, 1551. the best beloved sister of King Henry the Eighth. In order whereunto, he must first oblige the Marquess by some signal favour; advance himself to such a greatness as might render any of his sons an agreeable match for either of the Marquess's daughters; and, finally, devise some means by which the Duke of Somerset might be took out of the way: whose life he looked on as the principal obstacle to his great aspirings. By this design, he should not only satisfy his ambition, but also sacrifice to revenge. The execution of his father, in the first year of the reign of the late King Henry[1], would not out of his mind; and by this means he might have opportunity to execute his just vengeance on the King's posterity for the unjust murther (as he esteemed it) of his innocent father. Confirmed in these resolves by Sir John Gates, Lieutenant of the Band of Pensioners; who was reported afterwards to have put this plot into his head at the first[2], as he stood to him in the prosecution of it to the very last.

24. The Privy Council of his own thoughts having thus advised, the Privy Council of the King was in the next place to be made sure to him,—either obliged by favours, or gained by flatteries: those of most power to be most courted, through a smooth countenance, fair language, and other thriving acts of insinuation to be made to all. Of the Lord Treasurer Paulet he was sure enough, whom he had found to have so much of the willow[3] in him, that he could bend him how he pleased. And, being sure of him, he thought himself as sure of the

[1] See below. Mary, i. 5.

[2] Godwin, Ann. 104.

[3] "It is reported [of this nobleman] that, being sometime asked how he did to stand in those perilous times, wherein such great changes and alterations had been, both in Church and State, he answered, 'By being a willow, and not an oak.'"—Dugdale, Baronage, ii. 376. Camden, Remains, 285, ed. 1657. It is, however, argued, that this is a misrepresentation of the old statesman's maxim, which was in the form of verse;—that we ought to take together the two lines,

"I am a willow, not an oak;
I chide, but never hurt with stroke—"

and to interpret them, "I corrected mildly, with a willow twig, and not with an oaken cudgel." "His answer, therefore," (says Lodge, Portraits, &c. Vol. ii. No. 18) "refers, not to the practice of submission, but to the exercise of authority." He retained the favour of the Crown under Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth; and died in his ninety-seventh year, A.D. 1572.

public treasure as if it were in his own pockets. The Marquess of Northampton was Captain of the Band of Pensioners,—increased in power, though not in place, by ranging under his command as well the light-horse as the men-at-arms which had served at Bulloign[1]. With him the Earl had pieced before, drew him into his first design for bringing down the Lord Protector to a lower level; but made him faster than before, by doing so many good offices to Sir William Herbert, who had married his sister. Which Herbert, being son of Richard Herbert of Ewias, one of the bastards of William, Lord Herbert of Ragland, the first Earl of Pembroke of that
12 house[2], was, of himself a man of a daring nature, boisterously bold, and upon that account much favoured by King Henry the Eighth. Growing into more credit with the King, in regard of the Lady Ann his wife, the sister of Queen Katharine Parr, and having mightily raised himself in the fall of Abbeys, he was made chief Gentleman of the Privy-chamber, and by that title ranked amongst the executors of the King's last will, and then appointed to be one of the Council to the King now reigning[3]. Being found by Dudley a fit man to advance his ends, he is by his procurement gratified (for I know not what service, unless it were for furthering the sale of Bulloign[4]) with some of the King's lands, amounting to five hundred pounds in yearly rents, and made Lord President of Wales; promoted afterwards to the place of Master of the Horse, that he might be as considerable in the court as he was in the country. It was to be presumed that he would not be wanting unto him who had so preferred him. By these three all affairs of court were carried: plotted by Dudley, smoothed by the courtship of the Marquess, and executed by the bold hand of the new Lord President.

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

25. Being thus fortified, he revives his former quarrel with the Duke of Somerset; not that he had any just ground for it, but that he looked upon him as the only block which lay in the way of his aspirings, and therefore was to be removed by what means soever. Plots are laid therefore to entrap him, snares to catch him, reports raised of him, as a proud and ambitious person, of whose aspirings there would be no

[1] Sup. p. 185.
[2] Dugdale, Baronage, ii. 258.
[3] Sup. pp. 53—4.
[4] Sup. p. 184.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. other end than the crown itself, and common rumours spread abroad, that some of his followers had proclaimed him King in several places, only to find out how well the people stood affected to it. His doors are watched, and notice taken of all that went in and out; his words observed, made much worse by telling, and aggravated with all odious circumstances to his disadvantage: no way untravelled[1] in the arts of treachery and fraud, which might bring him into suspicion with the King and obloquy with the common people. The Duke's friends were not ignorant of all these practices, and could not but perceive that[2] his ruin and their own was projected by them. The law of nature bound them to preserve themselves: but their adversaries were too cunning for them at the weapon of wit, and had too much strength in their own hands to be easily overmastered in the way of power. Some dangerous counsels were thereupon infused into him, (more likely by his wife than by any other), to invite these Lords unto a banquet, and either to kill them as they sat, or violently to drag them from the table, and cut off their heads; the banquet to be made at the Lord Paget's house, near St Clement's church, and one hundred stout men to be lodged in Somerset Place, not far off, for the execution of that murther. This plot confessed—(if any credit may be given to such confessions)—by one Crane[3] and his wife, both great in the favour of the Duchess, and with her committed; and after justified by Sir Thomas Palmer, who was committed with the Duke, in his examination taken by the Lords of the Council. There were said to be some consultations also for raising the forces in the north, for setting upon the *gens d'arms*,—which served in the nature of a life-guard (as before was said)—upon some day of general muster[4]; two thousand foot and one hundred horse of the Duke's being designed unto that service: and, that being done, to raise the city, by proclaiming liberty. To which it was added by Hammond, one of the Duke's false servants, that his chamber at Greenwich had been strongly guarded by night, to prevent the surprisal of his person.

A creation of peers, &c

26. How much of this is true, or whether any of it be

[1] Edd. 1, 2, "untravailed."
[2] Edd. 1, 2. "but that."
[3] Edw. Journ. 57.
[4] Ibid. 55.

true or not, it is not easy to determine, though possible[1] enough it is that all this smoke could not be without some fire: which whosoever kindled first, there is no doubt but that Earl Dudley blew the coals, and made it seem greater than it was. Of all these practices and designs—(if such they were)—the Earl is constantly advertised by his espials whom he had amongst
113 them; and gave them as much line and leisure as they could desire, till he had made all things ready for the executing of his own projectments. But first there must be a great day of bestowing honours[2]; as well for gaining the more credit unto him and his followers, as by the jollity of the time to take away all fear of danger from the opposite party. In pursuit whereof, Henry Lord Gray, Marquess of Dorset, descended from Elizabeth, wife of King Edward the Fourth, by her former husband, is made Duke of Suffolk: to which he might pretend some claim in right of the Lady Frances, his wife, the eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and sister of Henry and Charles, the two late Dukes thereof, who died a few months since at Cambridge of the sweating sickness. The Earl himself, for some reasons very well known to himself, and not unknown to many others, is made Duke of Northumberland: which title had lain dormant ever since the death of Henry Lord Percy, the sixth Earl of that family, who died in the year 1537, or thereabouts; of whom more anon[3]. The Lord Treasurer Paulet, being then Earl of Wiltshire, is made Marquess of Winchester: Sir William Herbert created at the same time Lord Herbert of Cardiff, and Earl of Pembroke. Some[4] make Sir Thomas Darcy, Captain of the guard, to be advanced unto the title of Lord Darcy of Chich on the same day also; which others[5] place, perhaps more rightly, on the fifth of April. The solemnity of which creations being passed over, the order of Knighthood is conferred on William Cecil, Esquire, one of the Secretaries of Estate; John Cheek, tutor or schoolmaster to the King; Henry Dudley and Henry Nevile, Gentlemen of the privy-chamber. At or about which time[6] Sir Robert Dudley, the third son of the new Duke of Northumberland, (but

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

[1] Edd. "possibly."
[2] Stow, 605.
[3] Edw. vii. 7; Eliz. Introd. 17.
[4] Hayward, 320.
[5] Edw. Journal in Burnet, II. ii.; Stow, 605.
[6] Aug. 15.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. one which had more of the father in him than all the rest,) is sworn of the bed-chamber to the King; which was a place of greatest trust and nearness to his majesty's person[1].

Somerset and others imprisoned.

27. The triumphs of this day, being the eleventh day of October, were but a prologue to the tragedy which began on the fifth day after. At what time[2] the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Gray, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Thomas Arundel, together with Hammond, Newdigate, and two of the Seimours, were seized on and committed to custody; all of them, except Palmer, Vane, and Arundel, being sent to the Tower, and these three kept in several chambers, to attend the pleasure of the Council for their examinations. The Duchess of Somerset, Crane and his wife, above mentioned, and one of the gentlewomen of the chamber, were sent unto the Tower on the morrow next; followed not long after by Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhop, Wingfield, Banister, and Vaughan, with certain others; for whose commitment there was neither cause known, nor afterwards discovered. Only the greater number raised the greater noise, increased the apprehension of the present danger, and served to make the Duke more criminal in the eyes of the people, for drawing so many of all sorts into the conspiracy. Much time was spent in the examination of such of the prisoners as either had before discovered the practice —(if any such practice were intended)—or were now fitted and instructed to betray the Duke into the power and malice of his enemies. The confessions which seemed of most importance were those of Palmer, Crane, and Hammond; though the truth and reality of the depositions may be justly questioned. For neither were they brought face to face before the Duke at the time of his trial, as in ordinary course they should have been; nor suffered loss of life or goods, as some others did who were no more guilty than themselves. And yet the business stayed not here; the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget, and two of the Earl of Arundel's servants,

[1] Hayward goes further in the way of insinuation, styling this appointment "the accomplishment of mischief;" and adding, "after his entertainment into a place of such near service, the King enjoyed his health not long."—320. Heylyn intimates the same below, vii. 10.

[2] Oct. 16.—Edw. Journ.

being sent prisoners after the rest, upon Crane's detection. It was further added by Palmer, that, on the last St George's day, the Duke of Somerset, being upon a journey into the north, would have raised the people, if he had not been assured by Sir William Herbert that no danger was intended to him[1]. An. Reg. 5, 1551.

28. Six weeks there passed between the commitment of the prisoners and the Duke's arraignment, which might have given the King more than leisure enough to find the depth of the design, if either he had not been directed by such as the new Duke of Northumberland had placed about him, or taken by a solemnity which served fitly for it. For so it happened, that the Queen Regent of Scotland, having been in France to see her daughter, and being unwilling to return by sea in that cold time of the year, obtained leave of the King (by the mediation of the French Ambassador) to take her journey through England. Which leave being granted, she put herself into the bay of Portsmouth, where she was honourably received, and conveyed towards London. From Hampton Court she passed by water, on the second day of November, to St Paul's wharf, from whence she rode, accompanied with divers noblemen and ladies of England, besides her own train of Scotland, to the Bishop's palace. Presented at her first coming thither, in the name of the city, with muttons, beefs, veals, poultry, wine, and all other sorts of provisions necessary for her entertainment, even to bread and fuel. Having reposed herself two days, she was conveyed in a chariot to the court at Whitehall, accompanied with the Lady Margaret Douglass, daughter of Margaret Queen of Scots[2], by her second husband; together with the Duchesses Visit of the Queen Regent of Scotland. 114

[1] Edw. Journ.; Hayward, 320-1.

[2] Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., and wife of James IV. of Scotland, after whose death she married the Earl of Angus. Lady Margaret Douglas was born Oct. 1515.—(Letter from Lord Dacre and Dr Magnus to Hen. VIII. in Ellis, Second Series, i. 265.) For contracting marriage with her, Lord Thomas Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, was attainted and committed to the Tower, where he died, 1536.—(Stow, 573.) In 1544, Henry bestowed her in marriage on Matthew Earl of Lenox, by whom she became the mother of Henry, Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots. See Eliz. iv. 14; vii. 2.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. of Richmond, Suffolk, and Northumberland, besides many other ladies of both kingdoms, which followed after in the train. At the court-gate she was received by the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland and the Lord High Treasurer, the guard standing on both sides as she went along; and, being brought unto the King, whom she found standing at the end of the great hall, she cast herself upon her knees, but was presently taken up, and saluted by him according to the free custom of the English nation. Leading her by the hand to the Queen's chamber of presence, he saluted in like manner all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while. Dinner being ready, the King conducted her to the table prepared for them, where they dined together, but had their services apart. The ladies of both kingdoms were feasted in the Queen's great chamber, where they were most sumptuously served. Dinner being done, that her attendants might have time to partake of the entertainment, the King shewed her his gardens, galleries, &c., and about four of the clock he brought her down by the hand into the hall, where he saluted her, and so she departed to the Bishop's palace, as before[1].

29. Departing towards Scotland, on the sixth of that month, she rode through all the principal streets of London betwixt the Bishop's house and the church in Shoreditch, attended by divers noble men and women all the way she went. But more particularly the Duke of Northumberland shewed himself with one hundred horse, each having his javelin in his hand, and forty of them apparelled in black velvet guarded with white, and velvet caps and white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. Next to those stood one hundred and twenty horsemen of the Earl of Pembroke's, with black javelins, hats and feathers. Next to them one hundred of the Lord Treasurer's gentlemen and yeomen, with javelins:—these ranks of horsemen reaching from the cross in Cheapside to the end of Birching-lane in Cornhill. Brought as far as Shoreditch church, she was committed to the care of the Sheriffs of London, by whom she was attended as far as Waltham. Conducted in like manner by the Sheriffs of all the counties through which she passed, till she came unto the borders of Scotland; her entertainment being provided by the

[1] Edw. Journal, in Burnet, II. ii. 55-8; Lesley, 487-8; Stow, 606.

King's appointment, at the charge of the counties[1]. Which passages, not being otherwise material in the course of this history, I have adventured to lay down, the better to express the gallantry and glory of the English nation, before Puritanism and the humour of parity occasioned the neglect of all the laudable solemnities which anciently had been observed, both in Church and State. An. Reg. 5, 1551.

Trial and condemnation of Somerset.

30. The discourse raised on this magnificent reception of
115 the Scottish Queen so filled all mouths, and entertained so many pens, that the danger of the Duke of Somerset seemed for a time to be forgotten; but it was only for a time. For, on the first of December, the Duke, being brought by water to Westminster Hall, found all things there prepared for his arraignment[2]. The Lord High Steward for the time was the Marquess of Winchester, who took his place under a cloth of estate, raised three steps higher than the rest of the scaffold—the Peers, to the number of twenty-seven, sitting one step lower. Amongst these were the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke: who, being parties to the charge, ought in all honesty and honour to have excused themselves from sitting in judgment on him at the time of his trial. But no challenge or objection being made or allowed against them, they took place with the rest. The court being sat, and the prisoner brought unto the bar, the charge against him was divided into five particulars: viz. first, his design of raising men in the north parts of the realm, and of assembling men at his house, to kill the Duke of Northumberland. 2. A resolution to resist[3] his attachment. 3. The plot for killing the *gens d'arms*. 4. His intent for raising London. 5. His purpose of assaulting the Lords, and devising their deaths. The whole impeachment managed in the name of treason and felony; because in all treasons the intent and purpose is as capital as the act itself, if once discovered, either by word or deed or any other material circumstance, though it go no further. But, though treason made the loudest noise, it was the felony which was especially relied upon for his condemnation. Two statutes were pretended for the ground of the whole proceedings—the first made in the

[1] Stow, 606.
[2] Hayw. 322.
[3] Edd. 1, 2, "assist."

An. Reg. 5, 1551. time of King Henry the Seventh, by which it was enacted to be felony for any inferior person to contrive the death of a Lord of the Council: the second, that of the last session of parliament, by which it was declared to be treason for any twelve persons or more to assemble together, with an intent to murder any of the Lords of the Council, if, after proclamation made, they dissolved not themselves within the space of an hour[1].

31. The indictment being read, and the confessions of Palmer and the rest being produced, and urged by the King's counsel (who spared not to press them, as is accustomed in such cases) to the best advantage—the Duke, though much dismayed, returned this answer to the branches of his accusation: viz. "That he never intended to raise the north parts of this realm; but that upon some bruits, he apprehended a fear, which made him send to Sir William Herbert, to remain his friend: that he determined not to kill the Duke of Northumberland, nor any other Lord; but spake of it only, and determined the contrary: that it had been a mad enterprise, with his hundred men to assail the *gens d'arms*, consisting of nine hundred; which, in case he had prevailed, would nothing have advanced the pretended purpose: that therefore this, being senseless and absurd, must needs discredit other matters which otherwise might have been believed: that at London he never projected any stir, but ever held it a good place for his security: that, for having men in his chamber at Greenwich, it was manifest that he meant no harm; because, when he might have done it, he did not." And further, against the persons of them whose examinations had been read, he objected many things; desiring that "they might be brought to his face; which, in regard of his dignity and estate, he conceived to be reasonable." And so it happened unto him, as with many others; that, hoping to make his fault seem less by a fair confession, he made it great enough to serve for his condemnation[2].

32. For presently, upon these words, the counsel, thinking they had matter enough from his own confession to convict him of felony, insisted chiefly on that point, and flourished out their proofs upon it to their best advantage; but so that they neglected not to aggravate his offence in the treason also: that

[1] Sup. p. 175. [2] Hayw. 322; Edw. Journal, Dec. 1.

his Peers might be under some necessity of finding him guilty An. Reg. 5, 1551.
116 in the one, if they should find themselves unsatisfied for passing their verdict in the other. And though neither the one nor the other were so clear in law as to make him liable to a sentence of condemnation, if either the statute in the contents had been rightly opened, or the opinion of the judges demanded in them; yet what cannot the great wit of some advocates do, when they have a mind to serve their turn upon a statute, contrary to the mind and meaning of them that made it? The Duke of Northumberland thereupon, with a counterfeit modesty, (conceiving that he had him fast enough, in respect of the felony), desired their Lordships that no act against his life might be brought within the compass of treason[1]: and they, who understood his meaning at half a word, after a full hearing of the evidence, withdrew themselves into a room appointed for them; and, after some conference amongst themselves, acquiting him of treason, they pronounced him guilty of the felony only: which being returned for their verdict by all the Lords, one after another, in their rank and order, and nothing objected by the Duke that judgment should not pass upon him, the Lord High Steward, with a seeming sorrow, gave sentence, "That he should be had to the place from whence he came, from thence to the place of execution, and there to hang while he was dead;" which is the ordinary form of condemning felons. A matter not sufficiently to be admired, that the Duke should either be so ignorant or ill advised, so destitute of present courage or so defective in the use of his wit and judgment, as not to crave the common benefit of his Clergy[2], which had he done, it must have been allowed him by the rules of the court: whether it were, that of[3] his own misfortunes might render him uncapable of laying hold on such advantages as the laws admitted; or that he thought it better to die once for all, than living in a perpetual fear of dying daily by the malicious

[1] Edw. Journ. 62.

[2] Burnet, II. 384, remarks that the authors of this suggestion "shewed their ignorance; for by the statute, that felony of which he was found guilty was not to be purged by clergy."—Comp. Collier, v. 448, quoting Coke. Heylyn was preceded in the mistake by Speed, 837, and Fuller, b. vii. §. 43, (p. 409, ed. 1655.)

[3] So in the old editions. Either "of" is redundant, or some word is omitted.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. practices and devices of his powerful adversaries; or that he might presume of a pardon of course, in regard of the nature of the offence, in which neither the King nor the safety of the kingdom was concerned, and that the law by which it was found guilty of felony had never been put in execution upon a man of his quality, if perhaps at all; or, finally, whether it were some secret judgment on him from above, (as some men conceived), that he who had destroyed so many churches, invaded the estate of so many cathedrals, deprived so many learned men of their means and livelihood, should want (or rather not desire) the benefit of the Clergy in his greatest extremity[1]. Instead whereof he suffered judgment of death to pass upon him, gave thanks unto the Lords for his gentle trial, craved pardon of the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, for his ill meaning towards them; concluding with an humble suit for his life, and pity to be shewed to his wife and children[2].

33. It is an ancient custom in the trial of all great persons accused of treason, that the axe of the Tower is carried before them to the bar, and afterwards at their return from thence, on the pronouncing of the sentence of condemnation. Which ceremony not being performed at his going thence, in regard he was condemned of the felony only, gave an occasion unto such as had thronged into the hall, and knew not otherwise how things passed, to conceive that he had been acquitted absolutely of the whole indictment. And thereupon so loud a shout was made in the lower end of the hall that the noise thereof was heard beyond Charing Cross[3], to the great terror and amazement of his guilty adversaries. But little pleasure found the prisoner in these acclamations, and less the people,

[1] This suggestion is not in Speed or in Fuller, but is probably derived from the Preface to Spelman's tract *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* (3rd ed. Oxf. 1646)—"As if Heavens would not, that he that had spoiled his Church should be saved by his Clergy."

[2] The case of the Duke of Somerset is elaborately investigated by Mr Tytler (Edw. and Mary, ii. 1-73), who considers that he was innocent of any intent to assassinate Northumberland, and that nothing has been proved against him beyond a design of apprehending his rival, and "wresting from him the power which he found incompatible with his own safety."

[3] Hayward, 323.

when they understood of his condemnation: so that departing thence with grief, they left the way open for the prisoner to be carried by water to the Cranes in the Vintry, and from thence peaceably conveyed to the Tower again. Not long after followed the arraignment of Sir Michael Stanhop, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge, on whom also passed the sentence of death; but the certain day and
117 time of their trial I have nowhere found. Most probable it is that they were not brought to their trial till after the axe had done its part on the Duke of Somerset, which was on the twenty-third of January[1]; because I find they were not brought to their execution till the twenty-sixth of February[2] then next following, the two first being then beheaded, and the two last hanged: at what time they severally protested, (taking God to witness), that they never practised treason against the King, or against the lives of any of the Lords of his Council; Vane adding after all the rest, that "his blood would make Northumberland's pillow uneasy to him[3]." None of them less lamented by the common people than Sir Miles Partridge, against whom they had an old grudge, for depriving them of the best ring of bells which they had at that time, called Jesus Bells; which, winning of King Henry at a cast of dice, he caused to be taken down, and sold or melted for his own advantage[4]. If any bell tolled for him when he went to his death, or that the sight of an halter made him think of a bell-rope, it could not but remember him of his fault in that particular, and mind him of calling upon Christ Jesus for his grace and mercy.

An. Reg. 5, 1551.

34. But in the mean time care is taken that the King should not be too apprehensive of these misfortunes into which his uncle had been cast; or enter into any inquiries, whether he had been cast into them by his own fault or the practices of others. It was therefore thought fit to entertain him frequently with masks and dancings, brave challenges at tilts and barriers, and whatsoever sports and exercises which they con-

The King's diversions.

[1] Jan. 22, as is stated below, § 35.

[2] Stow, 607.

[3] Godwin, Ann. 146.

[4] Fuller, iii. 440. These bells hung in "a great and high clochier or bellhouse," close to St Paul's School.—Stow, Survey, 357.

An. Reg. 5, 1551. ceived most pleasing to him[1]. But nothing seemed more delightful to him than the appearing of his Lords and others in a general muster, performed on the twenty-third of December, in St James his Fields. At what time sitting on horseback with the Lords of his Council, the band of Pensioners in complete arms, with four trumpeters and the King's standard going before them, first appeared in sight; each Pensioner having two servants waiting on him with their several spears. Next followed, in distinct companies of one hundred a-piece, the troops of the Lord Treasurer Paulet, the Duke of Northumberland, the Lord Privy Seal, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports—a trumpet and a standard carried before each troop; forty of the Duke of Northumberland's men, and as many of the Earl of Pembroke's, having velvet coats upon their harness. With these were mingled, in like equipage as to the trumpets and the standards, the distinct troops of the Earls of Rutland and Huntingdon and the new Lord Darcy, consisting each of fifty horse, and ranked according to the order and precedency of their several Lords. All which rode twice before the King, by five in a rank, all excellently well armed and bravely mounted, to the great contentment of the King, the delight of the people, and as much to the honour of the nation in the eye of all such strangers as were present at it[2]. But then the Lords of England were Lords indeed, and thought it not consistent with a title of honour to walk the streets attended by a lacquey only, and perhaps not that. The particulars of which glorious muster had not been specified, but for supplying the place of music, (as the solemn reception of the Queen Regent did before), betwixt the two last acts of this tragedy; to the last whereof we shall now come, and so end this year.

Execution of Somerset, Jan. 22, 1551—2.

35. Two months had passed since the pronouncing of the fatal sentence of condemnation, before the prisoner was brought out to his execution. In all which time it may be thought that he might easily have obtained his pardon of the King, who had passed the first years of his reign under his protection, and could not but behold him with the eye of respect, as his nearest kinsman by the mother. But, first, his adversaries had so

[1] Holinsh. iii. 1032 (from Grafton); Hayward, 324.

[2] Stow, 607.

possessed the King with an opinion of his crimes and misdemeanors, that he believed him to be guilty of them: as appears by his letter to Fitz-Patrick, (for which consult the Church Historian, Lib. VII. fol. 409, 410[1])—wherein he summarily repeateth the substance of the charge, the proofs against him, the proceedings of the Lords in the arraignment, and his submiss carriage both before and after the sentence. They also filled his ears with the continual noise of the unnatural prosecuting of the late Lord Admiral;—inculcating how unsafe it was to trust to the fidelity of such a man, who had so lately washed his hands in the blood of his brother. And, that the King might rest himself upon these persuasions, all ways were stopped, and all the avenues blocked up, by which it might be possible for any of the Duke's friends to find access, either for rectifying the King's opinion, or obtaining his pardon. So that at last, upon the twenty-second of January, before remembered—(the King not being sufficiently possessed before of his crimes and cruelties)—he was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill. Where he avouched to the people, that "his intentions had been not only harmless in regard of particular persons, but driving to the common benefit both of the King and of the realm." Interrupted in the rest of his speech, upon the sudden fear of a rescue by the coming in of the hamlets on the one side, and the hopes of a pardon, which the people conceived to have been brought him by Sir Anthony Brown, who came speedily galloping on the other, he composed himself at last to make a confession of his faith, heartily praying for the King, exhorting the people to obedience, and humbly craving pardon both of God and man. Which said, he cheerfully submitted his head to the stroke of the axe, by which it was taken off at a blow; putting an end thereby to his cares and sorrows[2].

An. Reg. 5, 1551—2.

18

36. Such was the end of this great person, whose power and greatness may be best discerned by this following style, used by him in the height of his former glories: that is to say,—"Edward, by the grace of God, Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hartford, Viscount Beauchamp, Baron Seimour, Uncle to the

[1] Fuller, iv. 84-5, ed. Brewer. Fitzpatrick has been mentioned, p. 27.

[2] Godwin, Ann. 145; Hayw. 324; Stow (who witnessed the execution), 607; another eye-witness, in Fox, v. 293.

An. Reg. 5, 1551—2. King's Highness of England, Governor to the King's Highness' person, Protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Armies both by sea and land, Lord High Treasurer and Earl Marshal of England, Captain of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Garter[1]." As to his parts, person, and ability, there needs no other character of him than what was given in the beginning[2] and may be gathered from the course of this present history. More moderate in carrying on the work of Reformation than those who after had the managing and conduct of it, as one that in himself was more inclinable to the Lutheran—(but where his profit was concerned in the spoil of images)—than the Zuinglian doctrines: so well beloved in general by the common people, that divers dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, to keep them in perpetual remembrance of him. One of which, being a sprightly[3] dame, about two years after, when the Duke of Northumberland was led through the city, for his opposing the title of Queen Mary, ran to him in the streets, and, shaking out her bloody handkerchief before him, "Behold (said she) the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle of that excellent King, which, shed by thy malicious practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge itself on thee[4]." The like opinion also was conceived of the business by the most understanding men in the court and kingdom; though the King seemed for the present to be satisfied in it. In which opinion they were exceedingly confirmed by the enlargement of the Earl of Arundel, and restoring of Crane and his wife to their former liberty; but most especially by the great endearments which afterwards appeared between the Duke of Northumberland and Sir Thomas Palmer, and the great confidence which the Duke placed in him for the advancement of his projects in behalf of the Duke of Suffolk: of which more hereafter[5].

Disgrace of his adherents.

37. But the malice of his enemies stayed not here, extending also to his friends and children, after his decease: but

[1] Holinsh. iii. 910. [2] p. 3. Comp. 150.

[3] De Thou, viii. 15 (tom. i. 306), says, "matrona magni animi." So Godw. Annales, 101, Lond. 1616. The word in the translation of Godwin is "sprightful."

[4] Godwin, Ann. 146. [5] Hayw. 319.*

chiefly to the eldest son by the second wife; in favour of whom an Act of parliament[1] had been passed in the thirty-second year of the late King Henry, for the entailing on his person all such lands, estates, and honours, as had been or should be
119 purchased by his father, from the twenty-fifth day of May then next foregoing. Which Act they caused to be repealed[2] at the end of the next session of parliament (which began on the morrow after the death of the Duke); whereby they stripped the young gentleman, being then about thirteen years of age, of his lands and titles: to which he was in part restored by Queen Elizabeth, who, in pity of his father's sufferings and his own misfortunes, created him Earl of Hartford, Viscount Beauchamp, &c.[3] Nor did the Duke's fall end itself in no other ruin than that of his own house, and the death of the four Knights which suffered on the same account, but drew along with it the removal of the Lord Rich from the place and office of Lord Chancellor. For so it happened that the Lord Chancellor, commiserating the condition of the Duke of Somerset, though formerly he had shewed himself against him, dispatched a letter to him, concerning some proceedings of the Lords of the Council which he thought fit for him to know. Which letter, being hastily superscribed "To the Duke," with no other title, he gave to one of his servants, to be carried to him. By whom, for want of a more particular direction, it was delivered to the hands of the Duke of Norfolk. But, the mistake being presently found, the Lord Chancellor, knowing into what hands he was like to fall, makes his address unto the King the next morning betimes, and humbly prays, that, in regard of his great age, he might be discharged of the Great Seal and office of Chancellor[4]. Which being granted by the

AN. REG. 5, 1551—2.

[1] Sup. p. 6. [2] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 9.

[3] See below, Eliz. i. 7.

[4] This story is from Fuller (iv. 80), who states that he had it from the Earl of Warwick, grandson of Lord Rich. Hayward (323) suggests a feeling of the uncertainty of public life, and a wish to keep what he had already got, as the probable motives of Rich's retirement. The King notes in his Journal that the seal was at first committed to Goodrick by way of a temporary arrangement "during the time of the Lord Chancellor's sickness," as it had been given to Wriothesley during the illness of Audley, in 1544.—(Burnet, III. 310.) Rich survived his retirement sixteen years.—Campbell, ii. 27.

An. Reg. 5, 1551—2. King, though with no small difficulty, the Duke of Northumberland and the Earl of Pembroke, (forward enough to go upon such an errand), are sent, on the twenty-first of December, to receive the seal; committed on the morrow after to Doctor Thomas Goodrick[1], Bishop of Ely, and one of the Lords of the Privy Council[2]. Who afterwards, that is to say, on the two and twentieth of January[3], was sworn Lord Chancellor; the Lord Treasurer Paulet giving him the oath, in the Court of Chancery.

38. Next followed the losses and disgraces suffered by the Lord Paget on the Duke's account. To whom he had continued faithful in all his troubles[4], when Sir William Cecil, who had received greater benefits from him, and most of the dependents on him, had either deserted or betrayed him. His house designed to be the place in which the Duke of Northumberland and the rest of the Lords were to be murdered at a banquet, if any credit may be given to the informations; for which committed to the Tower, as before is said. But having no sufficient proof to warrant any further proceeding to his condemnation, an inquiry is made not long after into all his actions. In the return whereof, it was suggested, that he had sold the King's lands and woods without commission: that he had taken great fines for the King's lands, and applied them to his proper use: and that he had made leases in reversion, for more than one and twenty years[5]. Which spoil is to be understood of the lands and woods of the duchy Lancaster, of which he was Chancellor; and for committing

[1] Edd. 1, 2, "Goodwin;" ed. 3, "Goodrith."

[2] Edw. Journ. 63-4.

[3] Stow, 607. The date of Goodrick's appointment as *Chancellor* was Jan. 19.—(Edw. Journal; Richardson on Godwin de Præsul. 272; Campbell, ii. 29.) Perhaps the ceremony of swearing in (of which, as Lord Campbell informs us, there is no mention in the record of the appointment) may have taken place on the 22nd; or possibly that day may be mentioned through a confusion with the corresponding day of the preceding month, on which the Great Seal was committed to the Bishop as *Keeper*.

[4] "A most erroneous panegyric. Paget betrayed him in his first fall: and there is strong reason to believe that he had some hand in involving him in his final troubles, which ended in his death."—Tytler, Edw. and Mary, ii. 108.

[5] Hayward, 319.*

whereof he was not only forced to resign that office, but condemned in a fine of six thousand pounds; not otherwise to be excused but by paying of four thousand pounds within the year. This punishment was accompanied with a disgrace no less grievous to him than the loss both of his place and money. He had been chosen into the society of the Garter anno 1548, when the Duke of Somerset was in power, and so continued till the fifteenth of April in the year next following, anno 1552. At what time Garter King of Arms was sent to his lodging in the Tower, to take from him the Garter and the George belonging to him as a Knight of that most noble order; which he suffered willingly to be done, because it was his Majesty's pleasure that it should be so[1]. More sensible of the affront, without all question, than otherwise he would have been, because the said George and Garter were presently after sent by the King to John, Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberland's eldest son, admitted thereupon into that society. So prevalent are the passions of some great persons, that they can neither put a measure upon their hatred nor an end to their malice. Which two last passages, though more properly belonging to the following year, I have thought fit to place in this, because of that dependence which they have on the fall of Somerset. An. Reg. 5, 1551—2.

39. The like ill fortune happened at the same time also to Doctor Robert Farrar, Bishop of St David's, who, as he had his preferments by him, so he suffered also in his fall: not because guilty of the practice or conspiracy with him, as the Lord Paget and the rest were given out to be; but because he wanted his support and countenance against his Troubles of Bishop Farrar.

[1] Stow, 608. Edward, in his Journal (Apr. 22), states that "the Lord Paget was degraded from the order for divers his offences, and chiefly because he was no gentleman of blood, neither of father's side nor mother's side."—Comp. Hayward, 326; Heylyn, Hist. of St George, ed. 2. 335-6, where it is stated that a person qualified for becoming a member of the Order "must be a gentleman of name and arms for three descents, both by the father and the mother." Although Paget's deficiency in this respect might have have been a good ground for refusing to admit him into the Order, it is evident that the advancing of such an objection, when he was already a member, was a mere pretext. The garter was restored to him Sept. 27, 1553, three days before the coronation of Queen Mary.—Strype, in Kennett, ii. 336.

An. Reg. 5, 1551—2. adversaries. A man he was of an unsociable disposition, rigidly self-willed, and one who looked for more observance than his place required; which drew him into a great dislike with most of his Clergy—with none more than the Canons of his own cathedral. The faction headed, amongst others, by Doctor Thomas Young, then being the chanter of that church, and afterwards advanced by Queen Elizabeth to the see of York[1]; as also Doctor Rowland Merick, preferred by the same Queen to the see of Bangor[2]: though they appeared not visibly in the information which was made against him. In which I find him charged, amongst other things, for celebrating a marriage without requiring the married persons to receive the Communion, contrary to the rubric in the Common Prayer Book[3]; for going ordinarily abroad in a gown and hat, and not in a square cap, as did the rest of the Clergy; for causing a communion-table, which had been placed by the official of Caermarthen in the middle of the church, (the high altar being then demolished), to be carried back into the chancel, and there to be disposed of in or near the place where the altar stood; for suffering many superstitious usages to be retained amongst the people, contrary to the laws in that behalf; but chiefly for exercising some acts of episcopal jurisdiction in his own name, in derogation of the King's supremacy[4], and grounding his commissions for the exercise thereof upon foreign and usurped authority. The articles, fifty-six in number, but this last, as the first in rank, so of more danger to him than all the rest; preferred against him, but not prosecuted as long as his great patron the Duke of Somerset was in place and power. But, he being on the sinking hand, and the Bishop too stiff to come to a compliance with those whom he esteemed beneath him, the suit is followed with more noise and violence than was consistent with the credit of either party. The Duke

[1] Consecrated Bishop of St David's, 1560, and translated to York the following year.—Godwin de Præsul. 710.

[2] 1559.—Eliz. ii. 6.

[3] The rubric of that day was, "The new-married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the holy communion."—Cardw. Liturgies, 359. On its history, see "How shall we conform to the Liturgy?" 2nd ed. p. 294.

[4] i. e. in breach of the act lately passed. Sup. p. 105.

being dead, the four Knights executed, and all his party in disgrace, a commission is issued, bearing date the ninth of March, to inquire into the merit of the articles which were charged against him. On the return whereof he is indicted of a *præmunire*, at the assizes held in Caermarthen in the July following; committed thereupon to prison, where he remained all the rest of King Edward's time; never restored to liberty till he came to the stake, when all his sufferings and sorrows had an end together[1]. But this business hath carried us too far into the next year of this King: to the beginning whereof we must now return. An. Reg. 5, 1551—2.

[1] Fox, vii. 3, seqq. See below. Mary, ii. ult.

An. Reg. 6, 1551—2.

ANNO REGNI EDW. SEXTI 6.

ANNO DOM. 1551, 1552.

Meeting of parliament and convocation.

1. WE must begin the sixth year of the King with the fourth session of parliament, though the beginning of the fourth session was some days before; that is to say, on the twenty-third day of January, being the next day after the death of that great person. His adversaries possibly could not do it sooner, and found it very unsafe to defer it longer, for fear of being overruled in a parliamentary way by the Lords and Commons. There was summoned also a convocation of the Bishops and Clergy of the province of Canterbury, to begin upon the next day after the parliament. Much business done in each, as may appear by the table of the statutes made in the one, and the passing of the book of Articles as the work of the other. But the acts of this convocation were so ill kept that there remains nothing on record touching their proceedings, except it be the names of such of the Bishops as came thither to adjourn the house. Only I find a memorandum, that on the twenty-ninth of this present January the bishoprick of Westminster was dissolved by the King's letters patents[1]; by which the county of Middlesex, which had before been laid unto it, was restored unto the see of London: made greater than in former times by the addition of the archdeaconry of St Alban's, which, at the dissolution of that monastery, had been laid to Lincoln. The lands of Westminster so dilapidated by Bishop Thirlby, that there was almost nothing left to support the dignity; for which good service he had been preferred to the see of Norwich, in the year foregoing[2]. Most of the lands invaded by the great men of the court, the rest laid out for reparation to the church of St Paul[3]—pared almost to the very quick in those days of rapine. From hence first came

[1] The instrument is not in Rymer. Thirlby's surrender is dated March 29, 1550.—Fœdera, xv. 219.

[2] April 1, 1550.—Godwin de Præs. 570.

[3] Sup. p. 179. n. 2.

that significant by-word (as is said by some) of robbing Peter to pay Paul. But this was no business of that convocation, though remembered in it. An. Reg. 6 1552.

2. That which most specially doth concern us in this convocation is the settling and confirming of the book of Articles, prepared by Archbishop Cranmer, with the assistance of such learned men as he thought fit to call unto him, in the year last past[1]; and now presented to the consideration of the rest of the Clergy. For that they were debated and agreed upon in that convocation, appears by the title of the book, where they are called, *Articuli, de quibus in synodo Londinensi, anno Domini* 1552, &c., that is to say, "Articles, agreed upon in the synod of London, anno 1552." And it may be concluded from that title also, that the convocation had devolved their power on some grand committee, sufficiently authorised to debate, conclude, and publish what they had concluded in the name of the rest. For there it is not said, as in the Articles published in Queen Elizabeth's time, anno 1562, that they were "agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the convocation holden at London;" but that they were "agreed upon, in the synod of London, by the Bishops, and certain other learned men;" *inter Episcopos, et alios eruditos viros*, as the Latin hath it. Which seems to make it plain enough, that the debating and concluding of the Articles contained in the said book was the work only of some Bishops and certain other learned men sufficiently empowered for that end and purpose. And, being so empowered to that end and purpose, the Articles by them concluded and agreed upon may warrantably be affirmed to be the acts and products of the convocation, confirmed and published for such by the King's authority (as appears further by the title[2]) in due form of law. And so it is resolved by Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, in behalf of the Catechism[3] which came out anno 1553, Articles of Religion.

[1] Sup. p. 229. Comp. Wake's State of the Church, p. 599, quoted in Cardwell, Synodalia, 2-3. These Articles will be found at the end of the second volume.

[2] "Regia authoritate in lucem editi." *Author.*

[3] On this Catechism, see Lamb's Hist. of the Articles, 7-9, and Strype's Cranmer, ii. 365, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc., where it is shewn that Poynet was most likely the author. It is printed in the Parker Society's Liturgies, &c. of Edw. VI.

An. Reg. 6, 1552. with the approbation of the said Bishops and learned men. Against which when it was objected by Doctor Weston, Prolocutor of the Convocation, in the first of Queen Mary[1], that the said Catechism "was not set forth by the agreement of that house;"—it was answered by that reverend and learned man,—that "the said House had granted the authority to make ecclesiastical laws unto certain persons to be appointed by the King's Majesty, and therefore whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they or the most part of them did set forth, (according to the statute in that behalf provided), might be well said to be done in the Synod of London."

3. And this may also be the case of the book of Articles, which may be truly and justly said to be the work of the Convocation, though many members of it never saw the same till the book was published; in regard—(I still use Philpot's words in the "Acts and Mon." fol. 1282[2])—that "they had a synodal authority unto them committed, to make such spiritual laws as to them seemed to be necessary or convenient for the use of the Church[3]." Had it been otherwise, King Edward, a most pious and religious Prince, must needs be looked on as a wicked and most lewd impostor, in putting such an horrible cheat upon all his subjects by fathering these Articles on the Convocation, which begat them not nor ever gave consent unto them. And yet it is not altogether improbable, but that

[1] See below, Mary, i. 20.

[2] Fox, vi. 396. The disputation is reprinted in Philpot's writings, published by the Parker Society, pp. 179, seqq.

[3] The fact appears to be that Philpot's words referred rather to the Articles than to the Catechism. Weston is represented as having said "There is a book of late set forth called the Catechism" (which he shewed forth) "bearing the name of this honourable Synod, and yet put forth without your consents, as I have learned." Now the title of this book was "Catechismus brevis .... regia authoritate commendatus. Huic Catechismo adjuncti sunt Articuli de quibus in ultima synodo Londinensi...inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat, regia similiter authoritate promulgati;" in which words, as the editor of Philpot observes, the synodical authority is claimed for the Articles only, and not for the Catechism. It would seem, therefore, that the whole book was meant by Weston under the name of *Catechism*, for no distinction is drawn between its two parts; but that Philpot's explanation applied to that portion alone which pretended to the authority of Convocation.

these Articles, being debated and agreed upon by the said committee, might also pass the vote of the whole Convocation, though we find nothing to that purpose in the Acts thereof, which either have been lost or were never registered. Besides, it is to be observed that the Church of England, for the first five years of Queen Elizabeth, retained these Articles, and no other, as the public tenets of the Church in point of doctrine; which certainly she had not done, had they been commended to her by a less authority than a Convocation[1]. An. Reg. 6, 1552.

4. Such hand the Convocation had in canvassing the Articles prepared for them, and in concluding and agreeing to so much or so many of them as afterwards were published by the King's authority in the name thereof. But whether they had any such hand in reviewing the Liturgy, and passing their consent to such alterations as were made therein, is another question. That some necessity appeared both for the reviewing of the whole and the altering of some parts thereof, hath been shewed before; and it was shewed before by whose procurement and solicitation the Church was brought to that necessity of doing somewhat to that purpose. But, being not sufficiently authorised to proceed upon it, because the King's sole authority did not seem sufficient, they were to stay the leisure and consent of the present Parliament. For, being the Liturgy then in force had been confirmed and imposed by the King in parliament, with the consent and assent of the Lords and Commons, it stood with reason that they should not venture actually on the alteration, but by their permission first declared. And therefore it is said expressly in the Act of Parliament[2] made this present year, that "the said Order of Common Service, entituled the Book of Common Prayer, had been perused, explained, and made fully perfect," not singly[3] by the King's authority, but by the King with the assent of the Lords and Commons. More than the giving of their The second Liturgy of King Edward.

[1] On the history of these Articles, see Dr Cardwell's note, Synodalia, 1-7, where a view similar to Heylyn's—that "the authority of the Upper House, which at that time was held to involve the authority of the whole Synod, was given to them, if not directly, at least by delegation"—is maintained in opposition to Dr Lamb.—Comp. Fuller, iv. 109-110; Burnet, III. 120, folio ed.

[3] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. [4] Edd. 1, 2, "single."

An. Reg. 6, 1552. assent was neither required by the King nor desired by the prelates; and less than this could not be sought, as the case then stood. The signifying of which assent enabled the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy whom they had taken for their assistants, to proceed to the digesting of such alterations as were before considered and resolved on amongst themselves; and possibly might receive the like authority from the Convocation as the Articles had, though no such thing remaining upon record in the registers of it. But whether it were so, or not, certain it is that it received as much authority and countenance as could be given unto it by an Act of Parliament: by which imposed upon the subject under certain penalties (imprisonments, pecuniary mulcts, &c.) which could not be inflicted on them by Synodical Acts.

Affairs of Ireland.

5. The Liturgy, being thus settled and confirmed in Parliament, was by the King's command translated into French, for the use of the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and such as lived within the marches and command of Calice[1]. But no such care was taken for Wales till the fifth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; nor of the realm of Ireland from that time to this[2]. King Henry had so far prepared the way to a reformation as his own power and profit was concerned in it; to which ends, he excluded the Pope's authority, and caused himself to be declared Supreme Head on earth of the Church of Ireland, by Act of Parliament[3]. And by like Acts he had annexed to the Crown the lands of all monasteries and religious orders[4], together with the twentieth part of all the

[1] Fuller, iv. 24; Comp. Strype, Cranm. ii. 408, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.; Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 439.

[2] This is acknowledged to be a mistake, in a note at the end of the History. Bishop Mant informs us, that Sir J. Crofts, Viceroy of Ireland in 1551, was desired by the Council to take measures for the translation of the Prayer Book into Irish. (Hist. of the Irish Church, i. 202.) It was translated in 1571, under the care of Walsh, Bishop of Ossory. He also began a translation of the New Testament, which was completed by other hands, after his murder in 1585, and was published in 1603 (ibid. 294). There was in the Irish Act of Uniformity, 2 Eliz. c. 2. a strange provision (probably never acted on), that a *Latin* version of the Prayer Book should be used "where the common minister or priest hath not the use or knowledge of the English tongue."—Ibid. 260. See Eliz. ii. 14.

[3] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 5. (1537.)

[4] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 16.

ecclesiastical promotions within that kingdom[1]; and caused the like course to be settled for the electing and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, as had been done before in England[2]. Beyond which as he did not go, so, as it seems, King Edward's Council thought not fit to adventure further. They held it not agreeable to the rules of prudence, to have too
123 many irons in the fire at once; nor safe in point of policy, to try conclusions on a people in the King's minority, which were so far[3] tenaciously addicted to the superstitions of the Church of Rome, and of a nature not so tractable as the English were. And yet that realm was quiet, even to admiration, notwithstanding the frequent embroilments and commotions which so miserably disturbed the peace of England; which may be reckoned for one of the greatest felicities of this King's reign, and a strong argument of the care and vigilancy of such of his ministers as had the chief direction of the Irish affairs. At the first payment of the money for the sale (rather than the surrender) of Bulloign[4], eight thousand pounds was set apart for the service of Ireland; and shortly after, out of the profits which were raised from the mint, four hundred men were levied and sent over thither also, with a charge given to the governors, that the laws of England should be carefully and duly administered, and all such as did oppose, suppressed: by means whereof great countenance was given to those who embraced the reformed religion there, especially within those counties which are called commonly by the name of the English Pale; the Common Prayer Book of England being brought over thither, and used in most of the churches of the English plantation, without any law in their own parliaments to impose it on them[5]. But nothing more conduced more to the peace of that kingdom, than that the governors for the most part were men of such choice that neither the nobility

An. Reg. 6, 1552.

[1] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

[2] No Act to this effect is to be found in the collection of Irish statutes. Bp Mant gives some curious details as to the appointments during that part of Henry's reign which followed after the breach with Rome.—Hist. of Church of Ireland, i. 168, seqq.

[3] Qu. "so far more?"

[4] Sup. p. 184.

[5] There is an order from King Edward to Sir Antony St Leger, Lord Deputy, for the use of the English Liturgy throughout Ireland, in Bp Mant's History, i. 194-5. The date is Feb. 6, 1551-2.

An. Reg. 6, 1552. disdained to endure their commands, nor the inferior sort were oppressed to supply their wants. Besides which, as the King drew many men from thence to serve him in his wars against France and Scotland, which otherwise might have disturbed the common peace, so, upon notice of some great preparations which were made in France for the assistance of the Scots, he sent over to guard the coast of Ireland four ships, four barks, four pinnaces, and twelve victuallers. By the advantage of which strength he made good three havens, two on the south side toward France, and one toward Scotland; which afterwards made themselves good booties out of such of the French as were either cast away on the coast of Ireland, or forced to save themselves in the havens of it. For the French, making choice rather of their passage by St George's Channel than by the ordinary course of navigation from France to Edinburgh, fell from one danger to another; and, for fear of being intercepted or molested by the ships of England, were shipwrecked, as before was said, on the coast of Ireland. Nothing else memorable in this King's reign, which concerned that kingdom; and therefore I have laid it all together in this place and on this occasion.

Reformations may be made without a general Council[1].

6. But we return again to England, where we have seen a Reformation made in point of doctrine, and settled in the forms of worship; the superstitions and corruptions of the Church of Rome entirely abrogated, and all things rectified according to the Word of God and the primitive practice: nothing defective in the managing of so great a work which could have been required by equal and impartial men, but that it was not done, as they conceived it ought to have been done, in a General Council. But, first, we find not any such necessity of a General Council, but that many heresies had been suppressed, and many corruptions removed out of the Church, without any such trouble. St Augustine in his Fourth Book against the two Epistles of the Pelagians, cap. 12, speaks very plainly to this purpose[2]; and yet the learned Cardinal, though

[1] This argument is from the "Ecclesia Vindicata," Heylyn's Tracts, 31-4.

[2] Paucas fuisse hæreses ad quas superandas necessarium fuerit Concilium plenarium Occidentis et Orientis. Lib. iv. c. 12. *Author.* ["Aut vero congregatione synodi opus erat, ut aperta pernicies damnaretur?

a great stickler in behalf of General Councils, speaks more plain than he. By whom it is affirmed, that for seven heresies condemned in seven General Councils,—(though, by his leave, the seventh[1] did not so much suppress as advance an heresy), —an hundred had been quashed in national and provincial Councils[2]. The practice of the Church in the several Councils of Aquileia, Carthage, Gangra, Milevis, &c. make this plain enough; all of them being provincial, or at least but national, and doing their own work without help from others[3]. The
124 Church had been in an ill condition, had it been otherwise; especially under the power of the heathen Emperors, when such a confluence of the Prelates from all parts of the world would have been construed a conspiracy against the State, and drawn destruction on the Church and the persons both. Or, granting that they might assemble without any such danger, yet being great bodies, moving slowly, and not without long time and many difficulties and disputes to be rightly constituted—the Church would suffer more under such delay, by the spreading of heresy, than receive benefit by this care to suppress the same. So that there neither is, nor can be, any such necessity, either in order to the reformation of a national Church or the suppressing of particular heresies, as by the objectors is supposed.

An. Reg. 6, 1552.

7. Howsoever, taking it for granted that a General Council is the best and safest physic that the Church can take on all occasions of epidemical distempers—yet must it be granted at

quasi nulla hæresis aliquando nisi synodi congregatione damnata sit; cum potius rarissimæ inveniantur propter quas talis necessitas extiterit; multoque sint atque incomparabiliter plures quæ ubi extiterunt illic improbari damnarique meruerunt, atque inde per cæteras terras devitandæ innotescere potuerunt. Verum istorum superbia, . . . hanc gloriam captare intelligitur, ut propter illos Orientis et Occidentis synodus congregetur." Tom. vii. p. 480. Paris, 1614. Heylyn's quotation is derived through the medium of Bellarmine, De Concil. et Ecclesia, L. i. c. x.; Opp. Tom. ii. col. 15, ed. Colon. Agr. 1619.]

[1] The second council of Nicæa, A. D. 787, which sanctioned the worship of Images.—Fleury, L. xliv. cc. 29, seqq.

[2] "Nam si ad extinguendas septem hæreses celebrata sunt septem concilia generalia, plusquam centum hæreses extinctæ sunt a *sola apostolica sede*, cooperantibus conciliis particularibus."—Bellarm. de Conciliis et Eccl. loc. citat.

[3] Jewel, ed. Jelf, vi. 465.

An. Reg. 6, 1552. such times and in such cases only when it may conveniently be had. For where it is not to be had, or not had conveniently, it will either prove to be no physic or not worth the taking. But so it was at the time of the Reformation, that a General Council could not conveniently be assembled; and more than so, it was impossible that any such Council should assemble:—I mean a General Council rightly called and constituted, according to the rules laid down by our controversers.

For, first, they say, It must be called by such as have power to do it.

Secondly, That it must be intimated to all Christian Churches, that so no Church nor people may plead ignorance of it.

Thirdly, That the Pope and the four chief Patriarchs must be present at it, either in person or by proxy.

And, lastly, That no Bishop be excluded, if he be known to be a Bishop and not excommunicated[1].

According to which rules, it was impossible, I say, that any General Council should be assembled at the time of the Reformation of the Church of England. It was not then as when the chief four Patriarchs, together with their Metropolitan and Suffragan Bishops, were under the protection of the Christian Emperors, and might without danger to themselves or to their Churches obey the intimation and attend the service: the Patriarchs, with their Metropolitans and Suffragans, both then and now languishing under the power and tyranny of the Turk, to whom so general a confluence of Christian Bishops must needs give matter of suspicion of just fears and jealousies; and therefore not to be permitted (as far as he can possibly hinder it) on good reason of state.

8. And then, besides, it would be known by whom such a General Council was to be assembled. If by the Pope, as generally the papists say,—he and his court were looked on as the greatest grievance of the Christian Church, and it was not probable that he should call a Council against himself, unless he might have leave to pack it, to govern it by his own

[1] These appear to be intended as rules on which both the Romanist and the Anglican divines would agree; the difference being as to the application of them. See Bramhall, ii. 330, 565; Bellarm. de Concil. et Eccl., l. i. c. 17. (tom. ii col. 34.)

legates, fill it with titular Bishops of his own creating, or send the Holy Ghost to them in a[1] cloak-bag[2], as he did to Trent. If jointly by all Christian Princes, which is the common tenent of the Protestant schools:—what hopes could any man conceive, (as the times then were), that they should lay aside their particular interesses, to enter all together upon one design? Or, if they had agreed about it, what power had they to call the prelates of the East to attend the business, and to protect them for so doing at their going home? So that I look upon the hopes of a General Council,—I mean a General Council rightly called and constituted,—as an empty dream. The most that was to be expected was but a meeting of some Bishops of the West of Europe, and those but of one party only; such as[3] were excommunicated,—(and that might be as many as the Pope should please)—being to be excluded by the Cardinal's rule. Which how it may be called an Œcumenical or General Council, unless it be a Topical-Œcumenical, a Particular-General—(as great an absurdity in grammar as a Roman-Catholic)
125 —I can hardly see. Which being so,—and so no question but it was,—either the Church must have continued without reformation, or else it must be lawful for national particular Churches to reform themselves. And in that case the Church may be reformed *per partes*, part after part, province after province, as is said by Gerson[4]. Further than which I shall not enter into this dispute, this being enough to justify the Church of England from doing any thing unadvisedly, unwarrantably, or without example. An. Reg. 6, 1552.

9. That which remains, in reference to the progress of the Reformation, concerns as well the nature as the number of such feasts and fasts as were thought fit to be retained,—determined and concluded on by an Act of Parliament, to which the Bishops gave their vote; but whether predetermined in the Convocation, must be left as doubtful. In the preamble to Act for observance of Holy days and Fasts.

[1] The article is wanting in Edd. 1, 2.

[2] See Eliz. iv. 6.

[3] Edd. "as such."

[4] "Nolo tamen dicere quin in multis partibus possit Ecclesia per suas partes reformari, immo, hoc necesse est; sed ad hoc agendum sufficerent concilia provincialia, et ad quædam satis essent concilia diœcesana et synodalia."—De Concil. generali unius obedientiæ. Opp. i. 222, Paris. 1606.

An. Reg. 6, 1552. which Act[1] it is declared, that "at all times men are not so mindful of performing those public Christian duties which the true religion doth require, as they ought to be; and therefore it hath been wholesomely provided, that, for calling them to their duties and for helping their infirmities, some[2] certain times and days should be appointed, wherein Christians should cease from all other kind of labours, and apply themselves only and wholly unto such holy works as properly pertain to true religion: that the said holy works, to be performed upon those days, are more particularly to hear, to learn, and to remember Almighty God's great benefits, his manifold mercies, his inestimable gracious goodness, so plentifully poured upon all his creatures, rendering unto him for the same our most hearty thanks: that the said days and times are neither to be called or accounted holy, neither in the nature of the time or day, nor for any of the saints' sakes whose memories are preserved by them, but for the nature and condition of those godly and holy works, with which only God is to be honoured and the congregation to be edified: that the sanctifying of the said days consisteth in separating them apart from all profane uses, and dedicated not to any saint or creature, but only to the worship of God: that there is no certain time nor definite number of days appointed by holy Scripture, but that the appointment of the time, as also of the days, is left to the liberty of Christ his Church by the Word of God: that the days which from henceforth were to be kept as holy days in the Church of England, should be all Sundays in the year, the Feast of the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, &c., with all the rest recited at the end of the Calendar in the public Liturgy: that the Archbishops, Bishops, &c. shall have authority to punish the offenders in all or any of the premises, by the usual censures of the Church, and to impose such penance on them as to them or any of them shall seem expedient: and finally, that, notwithstanding any thing before declared, it shall and may be lawful for any husbandman, labourer, fisherman, &c. to labour, ride, fish, or work any kind of work, on the foresaid holy days, not only in the time of harvest, but at any other time of the year, when need shall require; with a *proviso* for the celebrating of St

[1] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 21. [2] Edd. "that some."

George's Feast on the two and twenty, three and twenty, and four and twentieth days of April yearly, by the Knights of the Right Honourable Order of the Garter, or by any of them." Which declaration, as it is agreeable in all points to the tenor of approved antiquity, so can there be nothing more contrary to the doctrine of the Sabbatarians, which of late time hath been obtruded on the Church. An. Reg. 6, 1552.

10. Then for the number of the fasts, it is declared that from that time forwards "every even or day going before any of the aforesaid days of the feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter, of the Ascension of our Lord, Pentecost, of the Purification and the Annunciation of the aforesaid Blessed Virgin, of All Saints, of all the said feasts of the Apostles, (other than of St John the Evangelist, and of St Philip and Jacob) shall be fasted, and commanded to be kept and observed, and that none other even or day shall be commanded to be fasted." For explication of which last clause, it is after added that "the said Act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to abrogate or take away the abstinence from flesh in Lent, or on
26 Fridays and Saturdays, or any other appointed to be kept for a fasting day, but only on the evens of such other days as formerly had been kept and observed for holy, and were now abrogated by this Act. And for the better suppressing or preventing of any such fasts as might be kept upon the Sunday, it was enacted in the same (according to the practice of the elder times) that, when it shall chance any the said feasts, the eves whereof are by this statute to be kept for fasting-days, to fall upon the Monday, that then the Saturday next before shall be fasted as the eve thereof, and not the Sunday." Which statute, though repealed in the first of Queen Mary[1], and not revived till the first year of the reign of King James, yet in effect it stood in force, and was more punctually observed in the whole time of Queen Elizabeth's reign than after the reviver of it[2].

[1] 1 Mar. Sess. 2. c. 2.

[2] The statute of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. was revived by 1 Jac. I. c. 25, which repealed the Act of 1 Mary. A bill for reviving it had been brought into parliament in the first year of Elizabeth, but did not pass; the observation of holy days throughout that reign rested on the Book of Common Prayer, and on the royal Injunctions of 1564, in

An. Reg. 6, 1552.

Other Acts relating to the Church.

11. Such course being taken for the due observing of days and times, the next care was that consecrated places should not be profaned by fighting and quarrelling, as they had been lately since the episcopal jurisdiction and the ancient censures of the Church were lessened in authority and reputation. And to that end was enacted in this present parliament[1], "that if any persons whatsoever, after the first day of May then next following, should quarrel, chide, or brawl, in any church or churchyard, he should be suspended *ab ingressu ecclesiæ*, if he were a layman, and from his ministration, if he were a Priest[2]; that if any person after the said time should smite or lay violent hands upon another [in any church or churchyard,][3] he should be deemed to be excommunicate *ipso facto*, and be excluded from the fellowship and company of Christ's congregation; and, finally, that if any person should strike another with any weapon in the church or churchyard, or draw his sword with an intent to strike another with the same, and thereof be lawfully convicted, he should be punished with the loss of one of his ears," &c. A seasonable severity, and much conducing to the honour both of Church and State. There were some statutes also made for taking away the benefit of Clergy in some certain cases[4]; for making such as formerly had been of any religious order to be heritable to the lands of their ancestors or next of kindred, to whom they were to have been heirs by the common law[5]; for confirming the marriages of priests, and giving them, their wives, and children, the like capacities as other subjects did enjoy[6], whereof we have already spoke in another place. There also passed another Act, "That no person by any means should lend or forbear any sum of money for any manner of usury or increase, to be received or hoped for above the sum lent, upon pain to forfeit the sum so lent and the increase, and to suffer imprisonment and make fine at the King's pleasure[7]." But this Act, being found to be prejudicial to the trade of the kingdom, first discontinued of

which reference was expressly made to the Act of Edward.—Gibson, Codex, 278.

[1] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 4.

[2] The word in the act is "clerk."

[3] Inserted from the Act.

[4] c. 9.

[5] c. 13.

[6] c. 12. Sup. p. 140.

[7] c. 20.

itself, and was afterwards repealed in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth[1]. An. Reg. 6, 1552.

12. This Parliament ending on the fifteenth of April, gave time enough for printing and publishing the Book of Common Prayer, which had been therein authorised; the time for the officiating of it being fixed on the Feast of All Saints then next ensuing. Which time being come, there appeared no small alteration in the outward solemnities of divine service to which the people had been formerly so long accustomed. For by the rubric of that book no copes or other vestures were required, but the surplice only; whereby the Bishops were necessitated to forbear their crosses, and the prebends of St Paul's and other churches occasioned to leave off their hoods. To give a beginning hereunto, Bishop Ridley, then Bishop of London, (obediently conforming unto that which he could not hinder), did the same day officiate the divine service of the morning in his rochet only, without cope or vestment. He preached also at St Paul's Cross in the afternoon, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Companies, in their best liveries, being present at it; the sermon tending for the most part to the setting forth of the said Book of Common Prayer, and to acquaint them with the reason of such alterations as were made therein[2]. On the same day the new Liturgy was executed also in all the churches of London. And not long after,—(I know not by what strange forwardness in them that did it)—the upper quire in St Paul's church, where the high altar stood, was broken down, and all the quire thereabout; and the Communion-table was placed in the lower part of the quire, where the Priest sang the daily service[3]. What hereupon ensued of the rich ornaments and plate, wherewith every church was furnished after its proportion, we shall see shortly, when the King's Commissioners shall be sent abroad to seize upon them in his name for their own commodity[4]. The new Liturgy comes into use, Nov. 1.

27

[1] 13 Eliz. c. 8.

[2] Stow, Chron. 608.

[3] Stow, 608. The removal was in obedience to the new rubric, which ordered that "The table... shall stand in the body of the church or in the chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayer be appointed to be said."—Cardwell, Liturgies, 267. For the history of the position of the holy Table, see "How shall we conform to the Liturgy?" ed. 2. pp. 152. seqq.

[4] See below, vii. 3.

An. Reg. 6, 1552.

The Psalms put into metre.

13. About this time[1] the Psalms of David did first begin to be composed in English metre, by one Thomas Sternhold, one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber; who, translating no more than thirty-seven, left both example and encouragement to John Hopkins and others to dispatch the rest. A device first taken up in France, by one Clement Marot[2], one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to King Francis the First; who, being much addicted to poetry, and having some acquaintance with those which were thought to have inclined to the Reformation, was persuaded by the learned Vatablus (Professor of the Hebrew tongue in the University of Paris) to exercise his poetical fancies in translating some of David's Psalms. For whose satisfaction and his own he translated the first fifty of them: and after, flying to Geneva, grew acquainted with Beza, who in some tract of time translated the other hundred also, and caused them to be fitted unto several tunes; which thereupon began to be sung in private houses, and by degrees to be taken up in all the churches of the French and other nations which followed the Genevian platform. Marot's translation said by Strada to have been ignorantly and perversely done, as being but the work of a man altogether unlearned; but not to be compared with that barbarity and botching which everywhere occurreth in the translation of Sternhold and Hopkins[3].

[1] Fuller, iv. 72-4, who puts it under the date of 1550. Sternhold died in 1549.

[2] Burney, Hist. Music, iii. 50, shews that it is a mistake to attribute the origin of metrical psalmody to Marot—Huss, the Bohemian brethren, and others, having preceded him. The important aid which the reformers derived from the use of metrical psalms appears from a letter of Jewel to P. Martyr, March 5, 1560. "Populus ubique ad meliorem partem valde proclivis. Magnum ad eam rem momentum attulit ecclesiastica et popularis musica. Postquam enim semel Londini cœptum est in una tantum ecclesiola cani publice, statim non tantum ecclesiæ aliæ finitimæ, sed etiam longe disjunctæ civitates, cœperunt idem institutum certatim expetere. Nunc ad Crucem Pauli videas interdum sex hominum millia, finita concione, senes, pueros, mulierculas, una canere et laudare Deum. Id sacrificos et diabolum ægre habet. Vident enim sacras conciones hoc pacto profundius descendere in hominum animas," etc. (Zurich Letters, i. Lat. 40-41.) Compare Weber, Geschichte d. akatholischen Kirchen u. Secten v. Grossbritannien. Leipz. 1845. i. 556-9.

[3] For the history of Metrical Versions see Warton, Hist. of English Poetry, iii. 142-157. ed. 1840.

Which, notwithstanding, being first allowed for private devotion, they were by little and little brought into the use of the Church; permitted rather than allowed to be sung before and after sermons; afterwards printed and bound up with the Common Prayer Book, and at last added by the stationers at the end of the Bible. For, though it be expressed in the title of those Singing Psalms that they were "Set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, and also before and after Sermon," yet this allowance seems rather to have been a connivance than an approbation: no such allowance being anywhere found by such as have been most industrious and concerned in the search thereof[1]. At first it was pretended only that the said Psalms should be sung "before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, and also before and after Sermon:" which shews they were not to be intermingled in the public Liturgy. But in some tract of time, as the Puritan faction grew in strength and confidence, they prevailed so far in most places to thrust the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*, quite out of the Church[2]. But of this more perhaps hereafter, when we

An. Reg. 6, 1552.

[1] Comp. Aërius Rediv. 248. "How shall we conform," &c. 279—283. Bp. Beveridge argues that the version must have been sanctioned by the royal authority.—(Works, viii, 624. ed. Anglo-cath. Lib.)

[2] The substance of these observations is repeated from Heylyn's remarks on Fuller, "Examen Historicum," p. 120, where he adds—"By the practices and endeavours of the Puritan party, they came to be esteemed the most divine part of God's public service; the reading-psalms, together with the first and second Lessons, being heard in many places with a covered head, but all men sitting bareheaded when the psalm is sung." Hence it would seem that the custom was to *sit* during the psalms, whether read or sung. Heylyn in describing the practice of the Church in the reign of Elizabeth (Eliz. ii. 7.) does not name the psalms among the portions of the service at which it was usual to stand; and Bishop Fleetwood, in a letter dated 1717, (Works, 722) says that standing at the psalms had not been usual in parish-churches, although it was customary to stand at the Doxology, the Creeds, the Gospel, and the Canticles. This appears to apply to the prose psalms, as well as to the metrical versions. Nay, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln (afterwards Archbishop of York), in his Injunctions of 1641, condemns as an innovation the calling of congregations "to stand up at the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, the *Gloria Patri*, or at other times than at the Creed and Gospel."—(Brit. Magazine, Oct. 1848, p. 377). Hence it would seem that the practice of standing at

An. Reg. 6, 1552. shall come to the discovery of the Puritan practices in the times succeeding.

Founding of St Bartholomew's and St Thomas' Hospitals.

14. Next to the business of religion, that which took up a great part of the public care was the founding and establishing of the new hospital in the late dissolved house of Grey Friars, near Newgate, in the city of London; and that of St Thomas, in the borough of Southwark. Concerning which we are to know, that the church belonging to the said house, together with the cloisters, and almost all the public building which stood within the liberties and precincts thereof, had the good fortune to escape that ruin which generally befell all other houses of that nature. And, standing undemolished till the last times of King Henry, it was given by him, not many days before his death, to the city of London, together with the late-dissolved Priory called Little St Bartholomew's; which at the suppression thereof, was valued at £305. 6*s*. 7*d*. In which donation there was reference had to a double end—the one, for the relieving of the poor out of the rents of such messuages and tenements as in the grant thereof are contained and specified: the other, for constituting a parish-church in the church of the said dissolved Grey Friars, not only for the use of such as lived within the precincts of the said two houses, but for the inhabitants of the parishes of St Nicholas in the Shambles, and of St Edwine's[1], situate in Warwick Lane end, near Newgate Market. Which churches, with all the rents and profits belonging to them, were given to the city at the same time also, and for advancing the same ends, together with five hundred marks by the year for ever; the church of the Grey Friars to be from thenceforth called Christ Church, founded by King Henry the Eighth[2]. All which was signified to the city in a sermon preached at St Paul's Cross by the Bishop of Rochester on the thirteenth of January[3], being no more than a fortnight before the death of the King: so that he wanted not the prayers of the poor at the time of his death, to serve as a counterbalance for those many curses which the poor monks and friars had bestowed upon him in the time of his life.

the Canticles, &c., if (as Heylyn says, Eliz. ii. 7.) it prevailed in the reign of Elizabeth, had fallen into disuse.

[1] Edd. 1, 2. "Ewines." [2] Stow, Chron. 592; Surv. 341.

[3] 1546-7.

15. In pursuance of this double design, the church of the said Friars (which had before served as a magazine or store-house for such French wines as had been taken by reprise) was cleansed and made fit for holy uses, and Mass again sung in it on the thirteenth day of January before remembered; resorted to by such parishioners as were appointed to it by the King's donation. After which followed (in the first years of King Edward the Sixth) the taking down of the said two churches, and building several tenements on the ground of the churches and churchyards; the rents thereof to be employed for the further maintenance and relief of the poor, living and loitering in and about the city, to the great dishonour of the same. But neither the first grant of the King nor these new additions being able to carry on the work to the end desired, it happened that Bishop Ridley, preaching before the King, did much insist upon the settling of some constant course for relief of the poor. Which sermon wrought so far upon him that he caused the Bishop to be sent for, gave him great thanks for his good exhortation, and thereupon entered into communication with him about the devising of some course by which so great and so good a work should be brought to pass[1]. His advice was, that letters should be written to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for taking the business into consideration, in reference to such poor as swarmed in great numbers about the city. To which the King so readily hearkened, that the letters were dispatched and signed before he would permit the Bishop to go out of his presence. Furnished with these letters and instructions, the Bishop calls before him Sir Richard Dobbs, then Lord Mayor of London, with so many Aldermen as were thought fit to be advised with in the present business; by whom it was agreed upon, that a general contribution should be made by all wealthy and well-affected citizens towards the advancement of a work so necessary for the public good. For the effecting whereof, they were all called to their parish-churches, where, by the said Lord Mayor, their several Aldermen, and other grave citizens, they were by eloquent orations persuaded how great and how many commodities would ensue unto them and their city, if the poor of divers sorts were taken from out their streets, lanes, and alleys, and were

An. Reg. 6, 1552.

[1] Holinshed, iii. 1060; Hayward, 323*-324*.

An. Reg. 6, 1552. bestowed and provided for in several hospitals. It was therefore moved, that every man would signify what they would grant towards the preparing and furnishing of such hospitals, as also what they would contribute weekly towards their maintenance until they were furnished with a more liberal endowment. Which course prevailed so far upon them, that every man subscribed according to his ability, and books were drawn in every ward of the city, containing the sum of that relief which they had contributed. Which, being delivered unto the Mayor, were by him humbly tendered to the King's Commissioners on the seventeenth of February[1].

16. This good foundation being laid, a beginning was 1
put to the reparation of the decayed buildings in the Greyfriars on the twenty-sixth of July, for the reception of such poor fatherless children as were then to be provided for at the public charge. The like reparation also made of the ruinous buildings belonging to the late-dissolved priory of St Thomas in the borough of Southwark, which the citizens had then newly bought of the King, to serve for an hospital of such wounded, sick, and impotent persons, as were not fit to be intermingled with the sound. The work so diligently followed in both places at once, that on the twenty-third of November the sick and maimed people were taken into the hospital of St Thomas, and into Christ's Hospital to the number of four hundred children; all of them to have meat, drink, lodging, and clothes at the charge of the city, till other means could be provided for their future maintenance[2].

And long it was not before such further means was provided for them by the piety and bounty of the King—then drawing as near unto his end as his father was when he laid the first foundation of that pious work. For, hearing with what cheerfulness the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had conformed themselves to the effect of his former letters, and what a great advance they had made in the work, [he] commanded them to attend him on the tenth of April, gave them great thanks for their zeal and forwardness, and gave for ever to the city his palace of Bridewell (erected by King Henry the Eighth), to be employed as a relieving-house for

[1] Stow, Surv. 418.

[2] Stow, Chron. 608; Surv. 342-4; Speed, 840.

such vagabonds and thriftless poor as should be sent thither to receive chastisement, and be forced to labour[1]. For the better maintenance whereof, and the more liberal endowment of the other hospitals before remembered, it was suggested to him, that the hospital founded in the Savoy by King Henry the Seventh, for the relief of pilgrims and travellers, was lately made the harbour or relieving-place for loiterers, vagabonds, and strumpets, who sunned themselves in the fields all day, and at night found entertainment there[2]. The Master and Brethren of the house are thereupon sent for to the King, who dealt so powerfully and effectually with them, that they resigned the same into his hands, with all the lands and goods thereunto belonging. Out of which he presently bestowed the yearly rent of seven hundred marks, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture which he found therein, towards the maintenance of the said workhouse and the hospital of St Thomas in Southwark. The grant whereof he confirmed by his letters patents, bearing date the twenty-sixth of June; adding thereunto a mortmain for enabling the city to purchase lands to the value of four thousand marks per annum, for the better maintenance of those and the other hospitals[3]. So that by the donation of Bridewell, which he never built, and the suppression of the hospital in the Savoy, which he never endowed, he was entitled to the foundation of Bridewell, St Bartholomew's, and St Thomas, without any charge unto himself.

An. Reg. 6, 1552.

17. But these last passages concerning the donation of Bridewell, the suppression of the hospital in the Savoy, and the endowment of the said three houses with the lands thereof, happened not till the year ensuing, anno 1553, though laid unto the rest in the present narrative in regard of the dependence which it hath on the former story. Nothing else memorable in the course of this present year, but the coming of Cardanus, the death of Leland, and the preferment of Doctor John Taylor to the see of Lincoln. The see made void by the death of Doctor Henry Holbeach about the beginning of August in the former year, and kept void by some powerful men about the King till the twenty-sixth of June in the

Taylor appointed to the see of Lincoln.

[1] Holinshed, iii. 1062.
[2] Stow, Surv. 344.
[3] Stow, Chron. 609; Holinsh. iii. 1062.

An. Reg. 6, 1553. year now present: at what time the said Doctor Taylor, who before had been Dean of that church, was consecrated Bishop of it. During which interval[1], the patrimony of that great and wealthy bishoprick (one of the richest in the kingdom) was so dismembered in itself, so parcelled and marked out for a prey to others, that when the new Bishop was to be restored unto his temporals, under the great seal of England (as the custom is), there was none of all his manors reserved 1
for him, but his manor of Bugden, together with some farms and impropriations, toward the support of his estate. The rest was to be raised out of the profits, perquisites, and emoluments of his jurisdiction; yet so that nothing was to be abated in his tenths and firstfruits, which were kept up according to the former value.

Death of Leland, the Antiquary. 18. As for John Leland—for whose death I find this year assigned—he had his education in Christ's College in Cambridge. Being a man of great parts and indefatigable industry, he was employed by King Henry the Eighth to search into the libraries and collect the antiquities of religious houses, at such time as they lay under the fear of suppression. Which work as he performed with more than ordinary diligence, so was he encouraged thereunto by a very liberal exhibition which he received annually from the late King Henry. But the King being dead, his exhibition and encouragements died also with him. So that the lamp of his life, being destitute of the oil which fed it, after it had been in a languishing condition all the rest of this King's reign, was this year unfortunately extinguished:—unfortunately, in regard that he died distracted, to the great grief of all that knew him, and the no small sorrow of many who never saw him but only in his painful and laborious writings. Which writings, being by him presented to the hands of King Henry, came afterwards into the power of Sir John Cheek, schoolmaster and secretary for the Latin tongue to the King now reigning. And, though collected principally for the use of the Crown, yet on the death of the young King, his tutor kept

[1] The spoliation may have been *completed* at this time; but Holbeach, immediately after his appointment to the see, had alienated six-and-twenty manors to the king and his heirs.—Godwin, de Præs. 300.

them to himself as long as he lived, and left them at his death to Henry his eldest son, secretary to the Council established at York for the northern parts. From Cheek, but not without some intermediate conveyances, four of them came into the possession of William Burton of Leicestershire; who, having served his turn of them as well as he could in his description of that county, bestowed them as a most choice rarity upon Oxford library, where the originals still remain. Out of this treasury, whilst it remained entire in the hands of Cheek, the learned Cambden was supplied with much excellent matter toward the making up of his description of the isles of Britain; but not without all due acknowledgment to his benefactor, whom he both frequently citeth and very highly commendeth for his pains and industry[1]. An. Reg. 6, 1553.

19. In the last place comes in Cardanus, an eminent philosopher, born in Italy, and one not easily over-matched by the then supposed matchless Scaliger. Having composed a book entitled *De Varietate Rerum*, with an Epistle Dedicatory to King Edward the Sixth, he came over this year into England to present it to him[2]; which gave him the occasion of much conference with him. In which he found such dexterity in him for encountering many of his paradoxes in natural philosophy, that he seemed to be astonished between admiration and delight, and divulged his abilities to be miraculous. Some passages of which discourse Cardanus hath left upon record in these words ensuing[3]: *Decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum, cum interrogabat Latine, &c.:* "Being yet," saith he, "but of the age of fifteen years, he asked me in Latin—(in which tongue he uttered his mind no less eloquently and readily than I could do myself)—what my books, which I had dedicated unto him, *De Varietate Rerum*, did contain? I answered, that in the first chapter was shewed the cause of Comets, or blazing stars, which have been long Cardan's visit to England.

[1] The substance of this paragraph is from Fuller, iii. 446. Since Heylyn wrote, Leland has found an editor in Hearne.

[2] Cardan had been summoned to attend the archbishop of St Andrew's in a dangerous illness, and visited the Court of England in his return. See Tytler, Hist. of Scotl. vi. 379.

[3] The original passage from Cardan "De Genituris," is given by Fox, ii. 653, ed. 1631; also by Burnet, Vol. II. ii. 129.

An. Reg. 6, 1553. sought for and hitherto scarce fully found[1]. 'What cause,' saith he, 'is that?' 'The concourse or meeting of the light of the wandering planets, or stars.' To this the King thus replied again: 'Forasmuch,' said he, 'as the motion of the stars keepeth not one course, but is diverse and variable by continual alteration; how is it then that the cause of these comets doth not quickly vade or vanish, or that the comet doth not keep one certain and uniform course and motion with the said stars and planets[2]?' Whereunto I answered, that it moved indeed, but with a far swifter motion than the planets, by reason of the diversity of aspects, as we see in crystal, and the sun when a rainbow rebounds on a wall; for a little change makes a great difference of the place. The King rejoined, 'How can that be done without a subject? as the wall is the subject to the rainbow.' To which I answered, that, as in the *galaxia* or *via lactea*, and in the reflection of lights, when many are set near one another, they do produce a certain lucid and bright mean." Which conference is thus shut up by that learned man, that "he began to favour learning before he could know it, and knew it before he could tell what use he had of it:" and then bemoans his short life, in these words of the poet,

Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rara senectus[3].

[1] "Diu frustra quæsitam."

[2] "Quomodo—cum diversis motibus astra movcantur—non statim dissipatur aut movetur illorum motu?" Thus far the version in Fox, ii. 654, ed. 1631, has been followed. The rest is from the translation of Godwin's Annals, 150-1.

[3] Martial. vi. xxix. 7.

ANNO REGNI EDW. SEXTI 7.

ANNO DOM. 1552, 1553.

1. SUCH being the excellent abilities of this hopeful Prince in matters of abstruser learning, there is no question to be made but that he was the master of so much perspicacity in his own affairs, (as indeed he was,) which might produce both love and admiration in the neighbouring princes. Yet such was the rapacity of the times and the unfortunateness of his condition, that his minority was abused to many acts of spoil and rapine—(even to an high degree of sacrilege)—to the raising of some and the enriching of others, without any manner of improvement to his own estate. For, notwithstanding the great and most inestimable treasures which must needs come in by the spoil of so many shrines and images, the sale of all the lands belonging to chantries, colleges, free-chapels, &c., and the dilapidating of the patrimony of so many bishopricks and cathedral churches;—he was not only plunged in debt, but the crown-lands were much diminished and impaired since his coming to it. Besides which spoils, there were many other helps, and some great ones too, of keeping him both beforehand and full of money, had they been used to his advantage. The lands of divers of the Halls and Companies in London were charged with annual pensions for the finding of such lights, obits, and chantry-Priests as were founded by the donors of them. For the redeeming whereof they were constrained to pay the sum of twenty thousand pounds[1] to the use of the King, by an order from the Council-table, not long before the payment of the first money for the sale of Bulloign, anno 1550. And somewhat was also paid by the city to the King for the purchase of the borough of Southwark[2], which they bought of him the next year. But the main glut of treasure was that of the four hundred thousand crowns, amounting in our money to £133,333. 13*s.* 4*d.*, State of the King's finances.

[1] Stow, 604.

[2] Only £647. 2*s.* 1*d.*, according to Stow, Surv. 442.

An. Reg. 7, 1553. paid by the French King on the surrendry of the town and territory of Bulloign, before remembered[1]. Of which vast sum (but small, in reference to the loss of so great a strength), no less than fourscore thousand pounds was laid up in the Tower; the rest assigned to public uses, for the peace and safety of the kingdom. Not to say anything of that great yearly profit which came in from the Mint; after the intercourse settled betwixt him and the King of Sweden, and the decrying so much base money, had begun to set the same on work[2]. Which great advantages notwithstanding, he is now found to be in debt to the bankers of Antwerp and elsewhere, no less than £251,000. of English money[3]. Towards which, the sending of his own ambassadors into France, and the entertainment of the French when they were in England, (the only two great charges which we find him at in the whole course of his reign), must be inconsiderable[4].

2. It was to no purpose for him to look too much backward, or to trouble himself with inquiring after the ways and means by which he came to be involved in so great a debt. It must be now his own care, and the endeavours of those who plunged him in it, to find the speediest way for his getting out[5].

And first, they fall upon a course to lessen the expenses of 1
his court and family by suppressing the tables formerly appointed for young Lords, the Masters of the Requests, Serjeants-at-arms, &c.[6], which, though it saved some money, yet it brought in none. In the next place, it was resolved to call

[1] Sup. p. 184. [2] Sup. p. 231-2.

[3] Hayward, 318*. The interest paid was 14 per cent.

[4] "From the report of the senator, Barbaro, to the senate of Venice, it appears that the King's income greatly exceeded his ordinary expenditure in time of peace, the former being about £350,000, and the latter about £225,000. But the war in Scotland for three years, had plunged him deeply in debt; and we find him constantly sending messengers to Antwerp to borrow money for short periods, at high rates of interest."—Lingard, vii. 57. The insurrections cost the King £27,330. 7*s*. 7*d*.; the war-charges of the year 1549 alone, including the expense of fortifications, amounted to £1,356,687. 18*s*. 5¾*d*.—Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 178; Lingard, vii. 49.

[5] See, for the projects of reform, Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 344.

[6] Edward, Journal, Sept. 27, 1552; Hayw. 321*. This was, however, later than the commission for seizing church-ornaments.

such officers to a present and public reckoning, who either had embezzled any of the Crown-lands, or inverted any of the King's money to their private use. On which course they were the more intent, because they[1] did both serve the King and content the people; but might be used by them as a scourge for the whipping of those against whom they had any cause of quarrel. Amongst which I find the new Lord Paget to have been fined six thousand pounds (as before was said[2]) for divers offences of that nature, which were charged upon him. Beaumont, then Master of the Rolls, had purchased lands with the King's money, made longer leases of some other Crown-lands than he was authorized to do by his commission, and was otherwise guilty of much corrupt and fraudulent dealing. For expiating of which crimes he surrendered all his lands and goods to the King[3], and seems to have been well befriended, that he sped no worse. The like offences proved against one Whaley, one of the King's receivers for the county of York; for which he was punished with the loss of his offices, and adjudged to stand to any such fine as by his Majesty and the Lords of his Council should be set upon him[4]. Which manner of proceeding, though it be for the most part pleasing to the common people, and profitable to the commonwealth; yet were it more unto the honour of a Prince to make choice of such officers whom he thinks not likely to offend, than to sacrifice them to the people and his own displeasures, having thus offended. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

3. But the main engine at this time for advancing money was the speeding of a commission into all parts of the realm, under pretence of selling such of the lands and goods of chantries, &c., as remained unsold[5]; but, in plain truth, to seize upon all hangings, altar-cloths, fronts, parafronts, copes of all sorts, with all manner of plate which was to be found in any cathedral or parochial church. To which rapacity, the demolishing of the former altars, and placing the com- A Commission for inquiry respecting church-plate and ornaments.

[1] Qu. "it"? [2] Sup. p. 252; Edw. Journ. 81.

[3] Hayw. 319*. Comp. Edw. Journ. 68, 81-2-3.

[4] Edw. Journ. 81; Hayw. 319*.

[5] Edward mentions this commission for selling "some part of the chantry-lands and of the houses, for payment of my debts, which were £251,000. sterling at the least."—Journal, May 10, 1552. Comp. Hayw. 318*.

An. Reg. 7, 1553. munion-table in the middle of the choirs or chancels of every church (as was then most used), gave a very good hint, by rendering all such furnitures, rich plate, and other costly utensils, in a manner useless. And that the business might be carried with as much advantage to the King as might be, he gave out certain instructions under his hand, by which the Commissioners were to regulate themselves in their proceedings, to the advancement of the service. Amongst which, pretermitting those which seem to be preparatories only unto all the rest, I shall put down as many as I think material: and, that being done, it shall be left to the reader's judgment, whether the King, being now in the sixteenth year of his age, were either better studied in his own concernments, or seemed to be worse principled in matters which concerned the Church[1]. Now the most material of the said instructions were these that follow:—

I. "The said Commissioners shall, upon their view and survey taken, cause due inventories to be made, by bills or books indented, of all manner of goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments, as yet remaining, or any wise forthcoming, and belonging to any churches, chapels, fraternities, or guilds; and [the] one part of the said inventories to send and return to our Privy Council, and the other, to deliver to them in whose hands the said goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments, shall remain, to be kept and preserved. And they shall also give good charge and order, that the same goods and every part thereof be at all times forthcoming to be answered; leaving nevertheless in every parish-church or chapel of common resort one, two, or more, chalices or cups, according to the multitude of people in every such church or chapel; and also such ornaments, as by their discretion shall seem requisite for the Divine Service in every such place for the time.

II. "That because information hath been made, that in 13
many places great quantities of the said plate, bells, jewels, ornaments, hath been embezzled by certain private men, contrary to his Majesty's express commandment in that behalf, the said Commissioners shall substantially and justly inquire and attain

[1] Burnet (II. 445) complains of this observation as "spiteful and unjust."

the knowledge thereof: by whose default the same is, or hath been, or in whose hands any part of the same is come. And in that point, the said Commissioners shall have good regard that they attain to certain names and dwellingplaces of every person or persons that hath sold, alienated, embezzled, taken, or carried away; and[1] of such also as have counselled, advised, and commanded any part of the said goods, plate, jewels, bells, vestments, and ornaments, to be taken or carried away, or otherwise embezzled. And these things they shall, as certainly and duly as they can, cause to be searched and understood. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

III. "That upon full search and inquiry thereof, the said Commissioners, four, or three of them, shall cause to be called before them all such persons, by whom any of the said goods, plate, jewels, bells, ornaments, or any other the premises, have been alienated, embezzled, and taken away; or by whose means and procurement the same or any part thereof hath been attempted, or to whose hands or use any of the same, or any profit for the same, hath grown: and by such means as to their discretions shall seem best, cause them to bring into these the said Commissioners' hands, to our use, the said plate, jewels, bells, and other the premises so alienated, or the true and full value thereof; certifying unto our Privy Council the names of all such as refuse to stand to or obey their order touching the redelivery[2] or restitution of the same, or the just values thereof, to the intent that, as cause and reason shall require, every man may answer to his doings in this behalf."

IV. To these another clause was added, touching the moderation which they were to use in their proceedings; "to the end that the effect of their Commission might go forward with as much quiet, and as little occasion of trouble or disquiet to the multitude, as might be; using therein such wise persuasions as, in respect of the place and disposition of the people, may seem to their wisdoms most expedient: yet so that they take care for giving good and substantial order to stay the inordinate and greedy covetousness of such disordered people as should go about to alienate any of the premises; or otherwise to let them know, that, according to reason and order, such as have or should contemptuously offend in that behalf, should

[1] Edd. Heyl. "or."

[2] Ed. Heyl. "their delivery."

An. Reg. 7, 1553. receive such punishment, as to the quality of their doing should be thought most requisite[1]."

Consequent spoliations.

4. Such were the faculties and instructions wherewith the King's Commissioners were empowered and furnished. And doubt we not but that they were as punctual and exact in the execution: which cannot better be discerned than by that which is reported of their doings generally in all parts of the realm, and more particularly in the church of St Peter in Westminster,—more richly furnished, by reason of the pomps of coronations, funerals, and such-like solemnities, than any other in the kingdom. Concerning which I find, in an old chapter-book belonging to it, that on May the 9th, 1553, Sir Roger Cholmley, Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and Sir Robert Bowes, Knight, Master of the Rolls, the King's Commissioners for gathering ecclesiastical goods, held their session at Westminster, and called before them the Dean of that cathedral[2] and certain others of the same house, and commanded them, by virtue of their commission, to bring to them a true inventory of all the plate, cups[3], vestments, and other ecclesiastical goods, which belonged to their church. Which done, the twelfth day of the same month, they sent John Hodges, Robert Smalwood, and Edmund Best, of the city of Westminster, (whom the said Commissioners had made their collectors), with a commandment to the Dean and Chapter for the delivery of the said goods; which were by Robert Crome, Clerk, Sexton of the said church, delivered to the said collectors, who left no more unto the church than two cups with the covers all gilt, one white silver pot, three herse-cloths, twelve cushions, one carpet for the table, eight stall-cloths for the quire, three pulpit-cloths, nine little carpets for the Dean's stall, two table-cloths: the rest of all the rich furniture, massy plate, and whatsoever else was of any value, (which, questionless, must needs amount to a very great sum), was seized on by the said collectors, and clearly carried away by order from the said Commissioners.

[1] Fuller, iv. 98-102; Wilkins, iv. 78. The commission given in these works, is that issued to the Marquess of Northampton and others, for the county of Northampton.

[2] It will be remembered that the church had ceased to be cathedral.

[3] Qu. "copes"?

The like done generally in all the other parts of the realm, into which the Commissioners began their circuits in the month of April, as soon as the ways were open and fit for travel. Their business was to seize upon all the goods remaining in any cathedral or parish churches, all jewels of gold and silver, crosses, candlesticks, censers, chalices, and such-like, with their ready money; as also all copes and vestments of cloth of gold, tissue, and silver, together with all other copes, vestments, and ornaments, to the same belonging. Which general seizure being made, they were to leave one chalice, with certain table-cloths, for the use of the Communion-board, as the said Commissioners should think fit: the jewels, plate, and ready money to be delivered to the Master of the King's Jewels in the Tower of London; the copes[1] of cloth of gold and tissue to be brought into the King's wardrobe; the rest to be turned into ready money, and that money to be paid to Sir Edmond Peckam, the King's Cofferer, for the defraying of the charges of his Majesty's household[2]. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

5. But notwithstanding this great care of the King on the one side, and the double diligence of his Commissioners on the other, the booty did not prove so great as the expectation. In all great fairs and markets there are some forestallers, who get the best pennyworths to themselves, and suffer not the richest and most gainful commodities to be openly sold. And so it fared also in the present business,—there being some who were as much beforehand with the King's Commissioners in embezzling the said plate, jewels, and other furnitures, as the Commissioners did intend to be with the King in keeping all or[3] most part unto themselves. For when the Commissioners came to execute their powers in their several circuits, they neither could discover all or recover much of that which had been purloined; some things being utterly embezzled[4] by persons not responsible, (in which case the King, as well as the Commissioners, was to lose his right): but more concealed

[1] Edd. 1, 2, "cope."

[2] Stow, 609 (for the latter part of the paragraph).

[3] Edd. 1, 2, "always."

[4] A letter of the Council, April 30, 1548, reproving and forbidding the alienation of church-ornaments, &c. by churchwardens and others (procured, as is supposed, by Cranmer) is given by Strype, Cranmer, ii. 91. ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.

An. Reg. 7, 1553. by persons not detectable, who had so cunningly carried the stealth that there was no tracing of their footsteps. And some there were, who, being known to have such goods in their possession, conceived themselves too great to be called in question; connived at willingly by those who were but their equals, and either were, or meant to be, offenders in the very same kind[1]. So that, although some profit was hereby raised to the King's exchequer, yet the far greatest part of the prey came to other hands: insomuch that many private men's parlours were hung with altar-cloths; their tables and beds covered with copes, instead of carpets and coverlids; and many made carousing cups of the sacred chalices, as once Belshazzar celebrated his drunken feast in the sanctified vessels of the Temple. It was a sorry house, and not worth the naming, which had not somewhat of this furniture in it, though it were only a fair large cushion made of a cope or altar-cloth, to adorn their windows, or make their chairs appear to have somewhat in them of a chair of state[2]. Yet how contemptible were these trappings, in comparison of those vast sums of money which were made of jewels, plate, and cloth of tissue, either conveyed beyond the seas or sold at home, and good lands purchased with the money; nothing the more blessed to the posterity of them that bought them, for being purchased with the consecrated treasures of so many temples.

6. But as the King was plunged in debt, without being 13
put to any extraordinary charges in it, so was he decayed in his revenue, without selling any part of his crown-lands towards the payment of his debts. By the suppressing of some and the surrendering of other religious houses, the royal *intrado* was so much increased in the late King's time, that, for the better managing of it, the King erected first the court of Augmentation, and afterwards the court of Surveyors. But in short time, by his own profuseness and the avariciousness of this King's ministers, it was so retrenched, that it was scarce able to find work enough for the court of Exchequer. Hereupon followed the dissolving of the said two courts in the last parliament of this King, beginning on the first, and ending on the last, day of March[3]. Which, as it made a loud noise in the

[1] Fuller, iv. 102-3. [2] Ibid. 98.
[3] 7 Edw. VI. c. 2; Fuller, iii. 466.

ears of the people, so did it put this jealousy into their minds, that, if the King's lands should be thus daily wasted without any recruit, he must at last prove burthensome to the common subject. Some course is therefore to be thought on, which might pretend to an increase of the King's revenue, and none more easy to be compassed than to begin with the suppression of such bishopricks and collegiate churches as either lay furthest off or might best be spared. In reference whereunto it was concluded, in a Chapter held at Westminster by the Knights of the Garter, that from thenceforth the said most noble Order of the Garter should be no longer entituled by the name of St George, but that it should be called the Order of the Garter only; and that the Feast of the said Order should be celebrated upon Whitsun-eve, Whitsun-day, and Whitsun-Monday, and not on St George's Day, as before it was[1]. And to what end was this concluded, and what else was to follow upon this conclusion, but the dissolving of the free chapel of St George in the castle of Windsor, and the transferring of the Order to the chapel of King Henry the Seventh, in the abbey of Westminster? Which had undoubtedly been done, and all the lands thereof converted to some powerful courtiers, under pretence of laying them to the Crown, if the King's death, which happened within four months after, had not prevented the design, and thereby respited that ruin which was then intended. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

7. The like preservation happened at the same time also in the church of Durham, as liberally endowed as the most, and more amply privileged than the best, in the King's dominions. The Bishops hereof, by charter and long prescription, enjoyed and exercised all the rights of a county palatine in that large tract of ground which lies between the Tees and the Tyne, best known in those parts by the name of the Bishoprick; the diocese containing also all Northumberland, of which the The Bishoprick of Durham in danger.

[1] A device for new-modelling the Order, translated into Latin by King Edward himself, is printed by Burnet, II. ii. 109-115. It does not, however, contain anything about removing the seat of the Order from Windsor, although it provides that, after the death of the holders in possession, the revenues of prebendaries, &c. of Windsor, shall be conferred on preachers; and the days appointed for the festival are the first Saturday and Sunday of December.—Edw. Journal, Apr. 24, 1552: "The Order of the Garter wholly altered, as appeareth by the new Statutes."

An. Reg. 7, 1553. Bishops and the Percies had the greatest shares. No sooner was Bishop Tonstal committed to the Tower, which was on the twentieth of December 1551[1], but presently an eye was cast upon his possessions. Which, questionless, had followed the same fortune with the rest of the bishopricks, if one more powerful than the rest had not preserved it from being parcelled out as the others were, on a strong confidence of getting it all unto himself. The family of the Percies was then reduced to such a point, that it seemed to have been quite expired; a family which first came in with the Norman conqueror, by whom enriched with most of the forfeited estates of Morchar, Gospatrick, and Waltheof, the three last Earls of Northumberland of the Saxon race. But, this line ending in the latter times of King Henry the First, Josseline of Lovain[2], descended from the Emperor Charles the Great, and one of the younger brothers of Adeliza, the wife of the King, enriched himself by marriage with the heir-general of this house, upon condition that, keeping to himself the arms of his own family, he should assume the name of Percy, to remain always afterward unto his posterity. Advanced in that respect, by the power and favour of John of Gaunt, to the rank and title of the Earls of North- 1
umberland, at the coronation of King Richard the Second, they held the same with great power and honour—(the short interposing of the Marquess Mountacute[3] excepted only)—till toward the latter end of King Henry the Eighth. At what time it happened, that Henry, Lord Percy, the sixth Earl of this house, had incurred the heavy displeasure of that King: first, for an old affection to the Lady Ann Bollen, when the King began first to be enamoured of her excellent beauties; and afterwards for denying to confess a precontract to have been formerly made between them, when the King (now as weary of her as before he was fond) was seeking some fair

[1] Sup. p. 214. He was deprived Oct. 11, 1552.—Edw. Journal.

[2] Edd. 1, 2, "Lorain."

[3] See below, Mar. ii. 11. Henry, Earl of Northumberland, was slain at Towton-field in 1461. His honours were forfeited, and in 1464 the title of Earl of Northumberland was conferred on John Nevill, brother of Richard, Earl of Warwick. The son of Earl Percy was restored in blood and honours in 1470, when Nevill resigned the title of Northumberland, and was created Marquess of Montacute.—Dugdale, Baronage, i. 282; Nicolas, Synopsis of the Peerage, 483.

pretences to divorce himself from her, before she was to lose her head[1]. He had no children of his own; and Thomas, his brother and next heir, was, to his greater grief, attainted of treason, for being thought to have a chief hand in the northern rebellion, anno 1536. In both respects he found himself at such a loss, and the whole family without hope of a restitution to its ancient splendour, that, to preserve himself from running into further danger, he gave unto the King the greatest part of that fair inheritance; and, dying not long after, left his titles also to the King's disposing[2]. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

8. The lands and titles being thus fallen into the crown, continued undisposed of till the falling of the Duke of Somerset; when Dudley, Earl of Warwick, having some projections in his head beyond the greatness of a subject, advanced himself unto the title of Duke of Northumberland; not doubting but he should be able to possess himself in short time also of all the lands of that family which were then remaining in the crown. To which estate the bishoprick of Durham and all the lands belonging to it could not but be beheld as a fair addition,—if, at the least, it might be called an addition which was of more value than the patrimony to which it was to have been added.

9. He had long reigned without a crown, suffering the King for some years to enjoy that title, which was to be transferred (if all contrivances held good) upon one of his sons, whom he designed in marriage to the eldest daughter of the house of Suffolk. And then how easy was it for him, having a King of his own begetting, a Queen of his own making, the Lords of the Council at his beck, and a parliament to serve his turn for all occasions, to incorporate both the lands of the Percies and the patrimony of that Church into one estate, with all the rights and privileges of a county palatine! Count Palatine of Durham, Prince Palatine of Northumberland, or what else he pleased, must be the least he could have aimed at, in that happy conjuncture; happy to him, had the event been answerable unto his projections, but miserable enough to all the rest of the kingdom, who should not servilely submit to this glorious upstart. Upon which grounds, as the bishoprick of

[1] See Eliz. Introd. 4-6, 17.

[2] Dugdale, Baronage, i. 283. Comp. Camd. Britannia, 821.

An. Reg. 7, 1553. Durham was dissolved by Act of parliament[1], under pretence of patching up the King's revenue, so the greatest part of the lands thereof had been kept together, that they might serve for a revenue to the future Palatine. But, all these projects failing in the death of the King and his own attainder, not long after the Percies were restored by Queen Mary to their lands and honours, as the Bishop was unto his liberty, and to most of his lands; it being almost impossible that such a fair estate

[1] 7 Edw. VI. Private Act No. 1. See Fuller, iv. 104; Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 395. Burnet (II. 442) complains of the misrepresentation of this Act "by those who never read more than the title of it." The preamble states that on account of the extent and other circumstances of the bishoprick, the King intended to divide it into two, by dissolving the existing see, and erecting bishopricks at Durham and Newcastle, with a new deanery and chapter at the latter place. *Some* spoliation was, doubtless, intended, and "in May (1553) the temporalty of the bishoprick was turned into a county palatine, and given to the Duke of Northumberland;" but the operation of the Act, as a whole, would have been widely different from what Heylyn intimates; and the remarks of Collier (v. 504), who treats the proposal for new bishopricks as a pretence "to smoothe the way for the dissolution bill, and cover the Duke of Northumberland's designs," have no apparent foundation. Wharton (Spec. of Errors, 120) states that Ridley was translated to Durham, under the new arrangement, and that in the instrument of Bonner's restitution the see of London is said to be vacant through that translation; but it is certain that on the last day of King Edward's life Ridley signed his name "Nicolaus, miseratione divina *London.* episcopus," and exercised authority in the diocese of London; consequently, it would seem that the actual translation had not taken place.—(Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 426.) But when it is argued from this in a late interesting sketch of the Reformation, that "it cannot be believed he had given any consent to this removal;" and that "it is more probable that the public instrument was drawn up by his enemies, to make him more odious, as usurping the rights of Tonstal than those of Bonner," (Massingberd's English Reformation, 371),—the historian evidently allows his feelings to draw inferences which are quite unwarranted by fact. There is no ground for supposing that Ridley shared in Mr Massingberd's scruples as to the rights of Tonstal; or for doubting that he consented to the arrangement by which he was to be transferred to the northern bishoprick. Thyn in Holinshed, iv. 771, states that Grindal was fixed on as Ridley's successor in the see of London—a statement which is not irreconcilable with the fact that he had been named for a bishoprick in the north—(one of those which were to have been formed out of Durham, as is supposed, Strype, Grind. 8)—in the end of 1552.

should fall into the hands of the courtiers and no part of it be left sticking in those glutinous fingers. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

10. For, to begin the year withal, the King was taken with a very strong cough in the month of January, which at last ended in a consumption of the lungs; the seeds of which malignity were generally supposed to have been sown in the last summer's progress, by some over-heating of himself in his sports and exercises. But they that looked more narrowly into the matter observed some kind of decayings in him from the time that Sir Robert Dudley, the third son of Northumberland, was admitted into a place of ordinary attendance about his person[1]; which was on the same day when his father was
37 created Duke. For whereas most men gave themselves no improbable hopes, that, betwixt the spring time of his life, the growing season of the year, and such medicinal applications as were made unto him, the disease would wear itself away by little and little, yet they found the contrary. It rather grew so fast upon him, that, when the parliament was to begin, on the first of March, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal were commanded to attend him at Whitehall, instead of waiting on him from thence to Westminster in the usual manner. Where being come, they found a sermon ready for them (the preacher being the Bishop of London) which otherwise was to have been preached in the abbey-church; and the great chamber of the court accommodated for an House of Peers to begin the session. For the opening whereof, the King then sitting under the cloth of state, and all the Lords according to their ranks and orders, he declared by the Lord Chancellor Goodrick the causes of his calling them to the present parliament, and so dismissed them for that time[2]. A parliament which began and ended in the month of March, that the commissions might the sooner be dispatched to their several circuits, for the speedier gathering up of such of the plate, copes, vestments, and other furnitures, of which the Church was to be spoiled in the time of his sickness. The King's sickness.

11. Yet in the midst of these disorders there was some care taken for advancing both the honour and the interest of the English nation, by furnishing Sebastian Cabot[3] for some Expeditions of Cabot and others.

[1] Sup. p. 240.
[2] Stow, 609.
[3] Edd. 1, 2, "Cabol."

An. Reg. 7, 1553. new discoveries. Which Sebastian, the son of John Cabot, a Venetian[1] born, attended on his first employment under Henry the Seventh, anno 1497. At what time they discovered the Baccalaos[2], and the coasts of Canada[3], now called New France, even to the 67½ degree of northern latitude[4]. Bending his course more toward the south, and discovering a great part of the shores of Florida, he returned for England, bringing with him three of the natives of that country[5] to which the name of Newfoundland hath been since appropriated. But finding the King unhappily embroiled in a war with Scotland, and no present encouragements to be given for a further voyage, he betook himself into the service of the King of Spain[6], and after forty years and more, upon some distaste, abandoned Spain, and offered his service to this King. By whom being made Grand Pilot of England[7], in the year 1549, he animated the English merchants to the finding out of a passage by the north-east seas to Cathay and China;—first enterprised under the conduct of Sir Hugh Willoughby, who unfortunately perished in the action—himself and all his company being frozen

[1] John Cabot appears to have been a Genoese. Sebastian was, as he himself stated, a native of Bristol, whence he was removed by his father to Venice when three years old; and he returned to England in boyhood or early youth.—Memoir of S. Cabot [by R. Biddle, Esq., an American writer] London, 1831.

[2] Edd. 1, 2, "Barralaos." The name of *Tierra de Bacallaos* was given to Newfoundland on account of the abundance of codfish on its shores.—Tytler, Progress of Discovery in North America, 24.

[3] Edd. 1, 2. "Cænada."

[4] It has been questioned whether Cabot reached this high latitude; but Mr Biddle appears to have proved that he did so—not, however, in the expedition of 1497, but in one made under the patronage of Henry VIII., in 1517. Cabot, in fact, entered Hudson's Bay ninety years before the first voyage of the navigator from whom it derives its name.—Biddle, 103-119; Tytler, Life of Henry VIII., 85; Progress of Discovery in North America, 40-1.

[5] Mr Biddle is anxious to prove that Cabot was not guilty of transporting these savages from their native country, but that they were brought to England by some other adventurers in 1502.—p. 229.

[6] 1512. He returned to England on the death of Ferdinand, 1516, and in the following year made the expedition mentioned in note 4.—Biddle, 97; Tytler's Hen. VIII., 84.

[7] This appointment is questioned by Mr Biddle, 176, 311.

to death (all the particulars of his voyage being since[1] committed to writing), as was certified by the adventurers in the year next following. It was upon the twentieth of May in this present year that this voyage was first undertaken, three great ships being well manned and fitted for the expedition; which afterwards was followed by Chancelour, Burroughs, Jackman, Jenkinson, and other noble adventurers in the times succeeding. Who, though they failed of their attempt in finding out a shorter way to Cathay and China, yet did they open a fair passage to the Bay of St Nicholas, and thereby laid the first foundation of a wealthy trade betwixt us and the Muscovites[2]. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

12. But the King's sickness still increasing—(who was to live no longer than might well stand with the designs of the Duke of Northumberland)—some marriages are resolved on for the daughters of the Duke of Suffolk; in which the King appeared as forward as if he had been one of the principals in the plot against him. And so the matter was contrived, that the Lady Jane, the eldest daughter to that Duke, should be married to the Lord Guilford Dudley, the fourth son (then living) of Northumberland,—all the three elder sons having
38 wives before; that Katherine, the second daughter of Suffolk, should be married to the Lord Henry Herbert, the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, whom Dudley had made privy to all his counsels; and the third daughter, named Mary, being crook-backed, and otherwise not very taking, affianced to Martin Keys, the King's Gentleman Porter. Which marriages, together with that of the Lady Katherine, one of the daughters of Duke Dudley, to Henry Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntington, were celebrated in the end of May or the beginning of June,—(for I find our writers differing in the time thereof)[3]—with as much splendour and solemnity as the King's weak estate and the sad condition of the court could be thought to bear. These marriages all solemnized at Durham- Marriages of Lady Jane Grey and her sisters.

[1] So in the editions; but it seems a strange manner of expressing the fact that Willoughby himself kept a journal, which was found with him.—Godwin, Ann. 151.

[2] See Mary, iv. 13.

[3] Holinshed places the marriages in the beginning of May, (iii. 1063); Godwin, in June, (148); Stow does not give any day.

An. Reg. 7, 1553. house in the Strand, of which Northumberland had then took possession in the name of the rest, upon a confidence of being master very shortly of the whole estate. The noise of these marriages bred such amazement in the hearts of the common people, apt enough in themselves to speak the worst of Northumberland's actions, that there was nothing left unsaid which might serve to shew their hatred against him, or express their pity toward the King. But the Duke was so little troubled at it that, on the contrary, he resolved to dissemble no longer, but openly to play his game according to the plot and project which he had been hammering ever since the fall of the Duke of Somerset, whose death he had contrived on no other ground but for laying the way more plain and open to these vast ambitions[1].

13. The King was now grown weak in body, and his spirits much decayed by a languishing sickness, which rendered him more apprehensive of such fears and dangers as were to be presented to him than otherwise he could have been in a time of strength.

The King settles the crown on the Duchess of Suffolk's family.

In which estate Duke Dudley so prevailed upon him, that he consented at the last to a transposition of the crown from his natural sisters to the children of the Duchess of Suffolk; confirming it by letters patents to the heirs males of the body of the said Duchess. And for want of such heirs males to be born in the lifetime of the King, the crown immediately to descend on the Lady Jane (the eldest daughter of that house) and the heirs of her body, and so with several remainders to the rest of that family[2]. The carriage of which business,

[1] Hayward, 325*.

[2] "It appears," says Mr Hallam, "that the young King's original intention was to establish a modified Salic law, excluding females from the crown, but not their male heirs. In a writing drawn by himself, and entitled 'My device for the succession,' it is entailed on the heirs male of the Lady Queen, if she have any before his death; then to *the Lady Jane and her heirs male;* then to the heirs male of the Lady Katherine; and in every instance, except Jane, excluding the female herself.—Strype's Cranmer, Append. 164. [ii. 676, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.] A late author, on consulting the original MS. in the King's hand-writing, found that it had been at first written *the Lady Jane's heirs male*, but that the words *and her* had been interlined.—Nares, Mem. of Burghley, i. 451. Mr Nares does not seem to doubt but that this was done by Edward himself; the change, however, is remarkable,

and the rubs it met with in the way, shall be reserved to the particular story of the Lady Jane, when she is brought unwilling upon the stage, thereon to act the part of a Queen of England. It sufficeth in this place to note, that the King had no sooner caused these letters patents to pass the seal, but his weakness more visibly increased than it did before. And as the King's weakness did increase, so did the Duke of Northumberland's diligence about him; for he was little absent from him, and had always some well-assured to espy how the state of his health changed every hour; and the more joyful he was at the heart, the more sorrowful appearance did he outwardly make. Whether any tokens of poison did appear, reports are various. Certainly his physicians discerned an invincible malignity in his disease; and the suspicion did the more increase for that the complaint proceeded chiefly from the lights; a part, as of no quickness, so no seat for any sharp disease[1]. The bruit whereof being got amongst the people, they brake out into immoderate passions, complaining that for this cause his two uncles had been taken away; that for this cause the most faithful of his nobility and of his council were disgraced, and removed from court; that this was the reason why such were placed next his person who were most assuredly disposed either to commit or permit any mischief; that now it did appear that it was not vainly conjectured some years before, by men
139 of judgment and foresight, that after Somerset's death the King should not long enjoy his life. But the Duke regarded not much the muttering multitude, knowing full well that rumours grow stale and vanish with time; and yet, somewhat to abate or delay them for the present, he caused speeches to be spread abroad that the King began to be in a recovery of his health; which was the more readily believed, because most desired it to be true[2]. To which report the general judgment of his physicians gave no little countenance, by whom it was affirmed that they saw some hopes of his recovery, if he might be removed to a better and more healthful air[3]. But this Duke Dudley did not like of, and therefore he so dealt with the Lords

An. Reg. 7, 1553.

and should probably be ascribed to Northumberland's influence."—(Const. Hist. i. 40).

[1] Hayw. 324*.

[2] Hayw. 324*.

[3] Hayw. 327*.

An. Reg. 7, 1553. of the Council that they would by no means yield unto it, upon pretence of his inability to endure any such remove.

Progress of his sickness. 14. And now, the time being near at hand for the last act of this tragedy, a certain gentlewoman, accounted a fit instrument for the purpose, offered her service for the cure—giving no small assurance of it, if he might be committed wholly to her disposing. But from this proposition the King's physicians shewed themselves to be very averse, in regard that, as she could give no reason either of the nature of the disease or of the part afflicted, so she would not declare the means whereby she intended to work the cure. Whose opposition notwithstanding, it was in time resolved by the Lords of the Council that the physicians should be discharged, and the ordering of the King's person committed unto her alone. But she had not kept him long in hand, when he was found to have fallen into such desperate extremity as manifestly might declare that his death was hastened under pretence of finding out a more quick way for restoring of his health. For now it visibly appeared that his vital parts were mortally stuffed, which brought him to a difficulty of speech and breathing; that his legs swelled, his pulse failed, and his skin changed colour; with many horrid symptoms of approaching death. Which being observed, the physicians were again sent for, when it was too late; and sent for (as they gave it out) but for fashion only; because it was not thought fit in reason of state that a King should die without having some physicians in attendance of him. By some of which it was secretly whispered, that neither their advice nor applications had been at all regarded in the course of his sickness; that the King had been ill dealt with, more than once or twice; and that when, by the benefit both of his youth and of careful means, there were some fair hopes of his recovery, he was again more strongly overlaid than ever[1]. And for a further proof that some undue practices had been used upon him, it is affirmed by a writer of the Popish party, who could have no great cause to pity such a calamitous end, not only that the apothecary who poisoned him, as well for the horror of the offence as the disquietness of his conscience, did not long after drown himself;

[1] Hayw. 327*. For a specimen of the strange stories current at the time, see a letter of Burcher to Bullinger, Orig. Letters, 184.

but that the laundress who washed his shirts lost the skin of her fingers[1]. Against which general apprehensions of some ill dealing toward this unfortunate Prince, it can be no sufficient argument (if any argument at all) that Queen Mary caused no inquiry to be made about it, as some supposed she would have done if the suspicion had been raised upon any good grounds. For it may easily be believed that she who afterwards admitted of a consultation for burning[2] the body of her father, and cutting off the head of her sister, would not be over careful in the search and punishment of those who had precipitated the death of her brother. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

15. The differences which were between them in the point of religion, and the King's forwardness in the cause of the
140 Lady Jane—his rendering her uncapable, as much as in him was, to succeed in the crown, and leaving her in the estate of illegitimation,—were thought to have enough in them of a *supersedeas* unto all good nature. So that the King might die by such sinister practices, without putting Queen Mary to the trouble of inquiring after them; who thought herself to have no reason of being too solicitous in searching out the secret causes of his death who had been so injurious to her in the time of his life. A life which lasted little and was full of trouble; so that death could not be unwelcome to him, when the hopes of his recovery began to fail him; of which if he desired a restitution, it was rather for the Church's sake than for his own—his dying prayers not so much aiming at the prolonging of his life, as the continuance of religion; not so much

[1] "'Jerusalem and Babel, or the image of both Churches, by P.D.M.' i. e. Matthew Pattison, p. 423."—Note in Brewer's ed. of Fuller, iv. 19.

[2] Fuller, iii. 237. The authority for this is somewhat suspicious. Weston, a Romanist, was in the reign of Mary deprived of the deanery of Westminster, on account of adultery, and was committed to the Tower, from which he was released at the accession of Elizabeth. He died soon after regaining his liberty; and, says Fox, "the common talk was, that if he had not so suddenly ended his life, he would have opened and revealed the purpose of the chief of the clergy, (meaning the Cardinal), which was to have taken up King Henry's body at Windsor, and to have burnt it."—(viii. 637). Sanders states that Mary caused catholic obsequies to be celebrated for Edward, but afterwards, when "melius instituta," agreed that Henry should not be prayed for.—248. Fuller mentions a tradition, evidently unfounded, that the body was burnt.—vi. 352.

An. Reg. 7, 1553. at the freeing of himself from his disease, as the preserving of the Church from the danger of Popery. Which dying prayer, as it was taken from his mouth, was in these words following:

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen; howbeit, not my will, but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. Oh my Lord God, bless my[1] people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. Oh Lord God, defend this realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ his sake[2]."

Death of Edward.

16. With this prayer and other holy meditations he prepared that pious soul for God; which he surrendered into the hands of his Creator on the sixth of July, toward night, when he had lived fifteen years, eight months, and four-and-twenty days: of which he had reigned six years, five months, and eight days over[3]. His body, kept awhile at Greenwich, was on the eighth of August removed to Westminster, and on the morrow after solemnly interred amongst his ancestors in the abbey-church. In the performance whereof, the Lord Treasurer Paulet, with the Earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, served as principal mourners; the funeral sermon preached by Doctor Day, then shortly to be re-established in the see of Chichester. And, if the dead be capable of any felicity in this present world, he might be said to have had a special part thereof, in this particular, viz. that, as he had caused all divine offices to be celebrated in the English tongue, according to the Reformation which was made in the time of his life, so the whole service of the day, together with the form of burial, and the Communion following on it, were officiated in the English tongue (according to the same model) on the day of his obsequies[4]. But whilst these things were acting in[5] the church of Westminster, Queen Mary held a more beneficial obsequy for him (as she then imagined) in the Tower of London; where

[1] "Thy," Fox, Fuller. [2] Fox, vi. 352; Fuller, iv. 119.
[3] Hayward—who however says *nine* days.
[4] Godwin, Ann. 163. Comp. Strype's N. in Kennett, ii. 334.
[5] Edd. 1, 2, "on."

she caused a solemn *dirige*, in the Latin tongue, to be chanted in the afternoon, and the next day a mass of *requiem* to be sung for the good of his soul: at which both she and many of her ladies made their accustomed offerings, according to the form and manner of the Church of Rome[1]. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

17. Such was the life and such the death of this excellent Prince: whose character I shall not borrow from any of our own English writers, who may be thought to have been biassed by their own affections, in speaking more or less of him than he had deserved; but I shall speak him in the words of that great philosopher Hierome Cardanus, an Italian born, and who, professing the religion of the Church of Rome, cannot be rationally accused of partiality in his character of him.

141 "There was in him," saith he, "a towardly disposition and pregnancy, apt to all humane literature; as who, being yet a child, had the knowledge of divers tongues: first, of the English, his own natural tongue, of the Latin also, and of the French: neither was he ignorant (as I hear) of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish tongues, and of other languages peradventure more. In his own, in the French, and in the Latin tongue singularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receive all other. Neither was he ignorant in logic, in the principles of natural philosophy, or in music. There was in him lacking neither humanity, a princely gravity and majesty, nor[2] any kind of towardliness beseeming a noble King. Briefly, it might seem a miracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardness that appeared in him, being yet but a child. And this," saith he, "I speak not rhetorically, to amplify things or to make them more than truth is; nay, the truth is more than I do utter[3]." So he, in reference to his personal abilities and qualifications. And for the rest,—that is to say, his piety to Almighty God, his zeal to the reformation of religion, his care for the well-ordering of the commonwealth, and other qualities belonging to a Christian King (so far as they could be found in such tender years,)—I leave them to be gathered from the passages of his life, as before laid down; remembering well that

[1] Stow, 613.

[2] Edd. Heyl. "for."

[3] The translation is from Fox, ii. 653, ed. 1631, where the Latin is also given.

An. Reg. 7, 1553. I am to play the part of an historian, and not of a panegyrist or rhetorician.

18. As for the manner of his death, the same philosopher leaves it under a suspicion of being like to fall upon him by some dangerous practice. For, whether he divined it by his art in astrology, (having calculated the scheme of his nativity), or apprehended it by the course and carriage of business, he made a dangerous prediction, when he foresaw that the King should shortly die a violent death, and (as he reporteth) fled out of the kingdom, for fear of further danger which might follow on it.

19. Of any public works of piety in the reign of this King, more than the founding and endowing of the hospitals before remembered, I find no mention in our authors[1]: which cannot be affirmed of the reign of any of his predecessors, since their first receiving of the gospel. But their times were for building up, and his unfortunate reign was for pulling down. Howsoever, I find his name remembered amongst the benefactors to the university of Oxford, and by that name required to be commemorated in all the prayers before such sermons as were preached ordinarily by any of that body in St Mary's church, or at St Paul's cross, or, finally, in the Spital without Bishops-gate, on some solemn festivals. But possible[2] it is, that his beneficence did extend no further than either to the confirmation of such endowments as had been made unto that university by King Henry the Eighth, or to the excepting of all colleges in that and the other university out of the statute or Act of parliament, by which all chantries, colleges, and free chapels, were conferred upon him. The want of which exception[3] in the grant of the said chan-

[1] Some Grammar-schools owe their foundation to King Edward—those of Shrewsbury, Bury St Edmunds, and Birmingham being the most noted. Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 385, gives a list of twenty-two, and alludes to "others;" but the performance in this department fell far short of the promise held out by the act for dissolution of chantries, &c. "Among the petitions of the Clergy in Convocation to the upper house, anno 1555, [under Mary] one is—'Item, for schools and hospitals promised in the statute of suppression of colleges.'"—Gibson, Codex, 1258. Nothing came of the motion.

[2] Edd. "possibly."

[3] Edd. 1, 2, "redemption." Perhaps we ought to read "exemption."

tries, colleges, free chapels to King Henry the Eighth, struck such a terror into the students of both universities, that they could never think themselves secure till the expiring of that statute by the death of the King[1]; notwithstanding a very pious and judicious letter, which had been written to the King in that behalf, by Doctor Richard Cox, then Dean of Christchurch, and tutor to his son Prince Edward[2]. An. Reg. 7, 1553.

Foundation of Christ's Hospital, Abingdon.

20. But, not to leave this reign without the testimony of some work of piety, I cannot but remember the foundation of the Hospital of Christ in Abindon[3], as a work not only of this time but the King's own act. A guild or brotherhood had been there founded in the parish church of St Helens, during the reign of King Henry the Sixth, by the procurement of one Sir John Gollafrie (a near neighbouring
142 gentleman) for building and repairing certain bridges and highways about the town; as also for the sustenance and relief of thirteen poor people, with two or more priests for performing all divine offices unto those of the brotherhood. Which being brought within the compass of the Act of parliament by which all chantries, colleges, and free chapels were conferred on the crown, the lands hereof were seized on to the use of the King; the repairing of the ways and bridges turned upon the town; and the poor left destitute, in a manner, of all relief. In which condition it remained till the last year of the King, when it was moved by Sir John Mason[4], one of the Masters of Requests, (a town-born child, and one of the poorest men's children in it), to erect an hospital in the same, and to endow it with such of the lands belonging to the former brotherhood as remained in the crown, and to charge it with the services and pious uses which were before incumbent on the old fraternity. The suitor was too powerful to be denied, and the work too charitable in itself to be long demurred on, so that he was easily made *master* also of this *request*. Having obtained the King's consent, he caused

[1] Sup. p. 25, note 2.

[2] Burnet mentions a letter on this subject, written by Cox to Secretary Paget, I. 339, folio.

[3] Heylyn was particularly acquainted with this town, having resided there during the usurpation.

[4] Styled by Camden "Ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum incubator maximus."—Annal. Eliz. 109.

An. Reg. 7, 1553. a handsome pile of building to be erected near the church, distributed into several lodgings for the use of the poor, and one convenient common-hall for dispatch of business: to which he laid such farms and tenements in the town and elsewhere, as had been vested in the brotherhood of the Holy Cross, before remembered; and committed the care and governance of the whole revenue to a corporation of twelve persons, by the name of the Master and Governors of the Hospital of Christ in Abindon. All which he fortified and assured to the town for ever, by virtue of this his Majesty's letters patents, bearing date the nineteenth of May in the seventh and last year of his reign, anno 1553. And so I conclude the reign of King Edward the Sixth,—sufficiently remarkable for the progress of the Reformation, but otherwise tumultuous in itself, and defamed by sacrilege, and so distracted into sides and factions that in the end the King himself became a prey to the strongest party: which could not otherwise be safe but in his destruction, contrived on purpose, (as it was generally supposed), to smoothe the way to the advancement of the Lady Jane Grey to the royal throne. Of whose short reign, religious disposition, and calamitous death, we are next to speak.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. iv. l. 17, *for* diturb, *read* disturb.

viii. l. 11, *for* into, *read* unto.

x. l. 4, *for* interest, *read* interess.

23. l. 6 of note, *for* with, *read* into.

33. l. 30, *for* irreconcilably, *read* irreconciliably.

p. 65. lines 1—9. The reference is to Fuller, who, in describing the coronation of Charles I., had said that the archbishop "did present his Majesty to the Lords and Commons, east, west, north, and south, asking their minds, four several times, if they did consent to the coronation of King Charles, their lawful Sovereign" (vi. 28). On this Heylyn (Exam. Hist. 301—3) remarked that the doctrine of asking the consent of the subjects was novel. Fuller in his "Appeal," (part iii. p. 5, folio ed.) allowed that it would have been more correct to speak of "acknowledging allegiance," and at the same time quoted from Mills' Catalogue of Honour the words cited in the text; to which Heylyn rejoined (Certam. Epist. 371—3), as here, that the instances alleged related to cases of disputable titles.

p. 68. l. 22, *for* concerments, *read* concernments.

74. *add to note* 3.—Heyl. Certam. Epist. 353—4.

77. l. 7, *for* comfortable, *read* conformable.

111. l. 20. There are in the Cottonian MS. Cleop. E. iv. two letters of Barlow on the subject of removing the see.

p. 111. l. 33, *for* whereof, *read* thereof.

192. *add to note* 1. Calvin, however, was far from approving unreservedly of Hooper's conduct.—"Sicuti in recusanda unctione ejus constantiam laudo, ita de pileo et veste linea maluissem (ut illa etiam non probem), non usque adeo ipsum pugnare."—Ad Bullinger. Epp. p. 59, (quoted by Henry, Leben Calvins, ii. 378.)

34985

283.04E
H516

Heylyn P.
History of the Reformation
v.1

34985

283.04 E
H 516
v.1